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Navigating *Heterotopias* and *Things*: Dashilar as Co-extensive Urban Paradigms

Volume I

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Abstract

Dashilar is a neighbourhood in Beijing, currently sitting immediately opposite Tiananmen Square on its south. It first came into being on eastern margins of the Jin capital from the thirteenth century and remained to be on the south western margins of the relocated Yuan capital. Being excluded from but adjacent to the tight codification of the capitals, Dashilar was formed ontologically and developed into an urbanity of special complexity. However, contemporary urban planning and heritage practice appears insensible to the different existential and expressive order of Dashilar: it sees Dashilar as a heritage area which is to be developed as one of many areas having similar commercial and heritage functions within a master plan and conservation plan. Therefore, it becomes urgent to study, understand and narrate the unique complexity of its urbanity.

Facing this urgency, this dissertation develops a methodology that is capable of looking into the operational complexity of Dashilar. By extending theorisations from Giorgio Agamben, Michel Foucault, and Bruno Latour, I respectively characterise Dashilar in three inter-related ways: as serial co-extensive urban paradigms, as assemblies of serial *heterotopias* that hold everyday practices, and, in terms of everyday *things*, as residing at the pivot of multiple networks between human and non-human agencies.

In this characterisation, I look into various assemblages of *heterotopias* that are held together by three everyday *things* – teacups, shop fronts, and the Mustard Seed Garden. Besides being a retroactive analysis of the heterogeneous processes that have worked out certain of Dashilar's socio-spatial fabrics, these accounts are also part of a proactive theory of urbanism. This theory suggests that urban design can mediate both the everyday and extraordinary aspects of life, providing an alternative perspective that eschews

the reductive tendencies of the conventional top-down and bottom-up approaches.

Lay Summary

Dashilar is a neighbourhood sitting in the southern part of contemporary Beijing's Forbidden City. It has been existence since the thirteenth century. It has always been on the city margins. Unlike the Forbidden City, Dashilar was not created by prescribed formal plans. It developed a special complexity by being on the margins and alongside the ideological orders of the Forbidden City.

Contemporary urban planning and heritage practice see Dashilar as an area that is to be developed as one of many heritage areas having similar commercial and heritage functions within both a city-wide Conservation Plan and Master Plan. As well as there being inconsistency between these two plans, they each overly simplify Dashilar's specific and special character as a commercial centre alongside traditional hutong. Therefore, this dissertation responds to an urgency to study, understand and narrate the special complexity of Dashilar before it is lost in the generic practices of urban heritage and city planning in Beijing.

This research develops a theoretical framework that arises from Dashilar's complexity. The research looks into three specific objects as examples of the many everyday things which interacted over extensive historical periods to develop complex cultural practices and networks. The study looks into teacups, shopfronts, and the Mustard Seed Garden. Besides being an analysis of the complex processes that have worked out certain of Dashilar's socio-spatial fabrics, this dissertation hopes to pave the way for a theory of urbanism, initially considered specific to Dashilar, which may be extended to other historic cities and places.

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Chapter One
Theoretical Preface

Dashilar 大栅栏 is a settlement on the margins of the Inner City of Beijing, occupying an area of approximately 1.2 km by 1.2 km. Dating from the thirteenth century, it developed in an area to the east outside of the limits of the older Jin city (Zhongdu, 1153–1215) and to the south and outside of the newly located Yuan capital (Khanbaliq or Dadu, 1271–1368). Subsequently, from 1553, it was included as a part of the Outer City during the Ming and Qing dynasties (Plate 1). Being excluded from but adjacent to the tight codification of the Inner City, Dashilar was not created by prescribed formal plans but developed into an urbanity of special complexity: the streets there provided no orthogonal circulation and buildings in different styles mingled together; mastering the subtleties of catering to the various needs of people from all walks of life, this built-environment continued to play significant cultural and commercial roles in Beijing.

Dashilar is now recognised as a heritage area, but its special complexity has been poorly analysed. For example, the *Beijing Urban Master Plan (1991–2010)* carried out in 1994 appreciated the historical value of Dashilar and assigned it the role, as one of the three major commercial-cultural centres in Beijing, of providing the rest of the city with advanced and modernised services;[1] an area of Dashilar along its main street was also designated one of the "Twenty-five Beijing Old City Historical and Cultural Conservation Areas" in 1999 and described as one of Beijing's traditional commercial

[1] Beijing Municipal People's Government, *Beiijng chengshi zongti guihua (1991–2010)* 北京城市总体规划（1991 年至 2010 年） [Beijing Urban Master Plan (1991–2010)] (1994).

neighbourhoods.[2] In these urban planning and heritage practices, however, Dashilar was not analysed as a unique area, but was meant to be developed as one of many areas having similar commercial and heritage functions within a master plan and conservation plan, following a set of unified standards and requirements.

As Dashilar is conceptualised within the limited understanding of conventional contemporary urban planning and heritage practice, it becomes urgent to study, understand and narrate the special complexity of its urbanity. This urgency requires us to develop a different analytical approach: one able to look into the operational complexity of Dashilar. By extending theorisations from Giorgio Agamben, Michel Foucault, and Bruno Latour, this research characterises Dashilar in three inter-related ways: as co-extensive urban paradigm with the Forbidden City, as assemblies of serial *heterotopias*, and, in terms of everyday *things*, as residing at the pivot of multiple networks between human and non-human agencies.

1.1 Dashilar as Co-extensive Urban Paradigm with the Forbidden City

Beijing is a grand construction that emerged from the efforts of the early Ming emperors in the fifteenth century.[3] As the quintessence of Chinese capital-planning tradition, its layout prescribes a centric and symmetric model as an

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[2] The conservation areas were first announced in 1990, but the areas were re-designated and confirmed in 1999. Lu Xiang 陆翔 and Wang Peng 王蓬, "Beijing 25 pian lishi wenhua baohuqu baohu fangfa chutan" 北京 25 片历史文化保护区保护方法初探 [A preliminary study on the conservation method of the 25 Beijing old city historical and cultural conservation areas], *Beijing guihua jianshe* 北京规划建设[Beijing City Planning and Construction Review] 8, no.1 (2001): 25.

[3] The massive construction project started in 1403 when the city was named "Beijing," the "Northern Capital." The city formally assumed the status and the functioning of a capital in 1420 under the reign of Emperor Yongle, and was then declared the permanent capital by Emperor Zhengtong in 1441. Significant construction work continued during this period. About a century later, three new sub-urban alters were added to the plan in 1530 and a city wall was built to encircle the southern outskirts of Beijing in 1553. Zhu Jianfei, *Chinese Spatial Strategies: Imperial Beijing, 1420–1911* (London: Routledge, 2004), 28–29. Hou Renzhi, *An Historical Geography of Peiping* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2014), 95–105.

expression more of abstract metaphysical aspirations than of figurative or administrative ones, representing the imperial ideology that defines a central position in terms of the sovereign.[4] The rigidly symmetrical layout of the Forbidden City, comprising the emperor's palaces, defines the centre of the city, and its north-south axis is the strongest organising element of the entire layout (Plate 2). In the Forbidden City, the magnitude, detail and arrangement of all spaces are echoes of such axiality and, therefore, of a metaphysical rather than human scale. Outside the Forbidden City, the walls of the Imperial City and Inner City are telescoping parts of the same apparatus, possessing a symmetry that regulates and subjects all in the Empire to the same axiality (Plate 2).

Dashilar sits outside the Inner City on its southern margins. It too is invested in this metaphysical diagram. Nonetheless, it operates by a kind of inverse logic; that is, it seems to have been generated with a lack of axiality, but rather formulated through different strands of everyday practices. One of the evident traces of alternative forces of urban formation in Dashilar is the main road that runs west to east diagonally northwards through the limits of the neighbourhood.[5] It leads from what could have been an exit gate to the east north wall of the Jin city, towards the south gate at the entrance of the

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[4] The long-practised Chinese capital-planning tradition is based on a classical cosmology and a symbolic layout outlined in *Zhou li* (The rites of Zhou dynasty), a tradition that has been discussed by scholars of Chinese planning history. For example: He Yeju 贺业钜, *Kaogongji yingguo zhidu yanjiu* 考工记营国制度研究 [A study of the planning system of the *Kaogongji*] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1985); Arthur F. Wright, "The Cosmology of the Chinese City," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 33–73. Zhu Jianfei has explained in detail the imperial ideology that dominated the planning of Beijing. Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, 32–44.

[5] Hou Renzhi has pointed out that "the only striking feature in the Outer City" is this main road in Dashilar. He reminds us that the irregular pattern of the Outer City is deeply rooted in how the city has evolved, and he questions the generic understanding of Griffith Taylor. However, Hou's historical reconstruction has foregrounded how the political power of different milieus negotiated with the geographical conditions in the formation of their capitals. If his analytical approach is regarded as scientifically correct and accurate, we can easily overlook the uncategorised features of the Outer City. See Hou, *An Historical Geography of Peiping*, 87; Griffith Taylor, "Environment, Village and City," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 32, no.1 (1946): 21; *Our Evolving Civilization* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), 207–209; *Urban Geography* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1949), 26–29.

Ming/Qing Inner City. It seems to suggest a recurrent incidental movement and series of transactions that grew between the old and new cities from the point of the thirteenth century urban reconstruction. As the warren of streets emerged over time, only time itself seems to have been the predominant way of gaining sufficient understanding of its complexities to allow navigation (Plate 3).

Indeed, Dashilar and the Forbidden City sit as a pair, with Dashilar as the real to an ideal counterpart. Their relationship, however, is not simply that of the former conforming to the latter. Instead, they cooperate in each other's formation and exist in a symbiotic relationship. The planning of Ming Beijing redefined the territory of the city and established a new metaphysical diagram, based on good appreciation of the markets and residential areas that had developed without any definite plan in Dashilar and other areas outside the southern gates of the Yuan capital.[6] Although the plan absorbed a part of these areas in the Inner City and then enclosed all the built-up areas on its southern margins to form the Outer City, it had never attempted to subject their irregular street patterns to its axiality (Plate 4).[7] As a result, Dashilar was only disturbed but never governed by the external imperial spatial forces and has juxtaposed itself to the axial Forbidden City for centuries.

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[6] When the Ming forces sacked the Yuan capital in 1368, the Ming general, to strengthen his defences, immediately reduced the size of the city by moving the northern wall about two miles to the south, because the northern part of the city had never been properly occupied. When the Ming ruler later intended to redevelop the city as a capital, the southward shift of the old northern wall had rendered the old metaphysical diagram no longer accurate. When re-establishing the metaphysical diagram, the new plan extended the southern city wall about half a mile, not only for a longer approach to the Forbidden City on an axial way, but also for the vitality of the built-up areas formerly outside the old southern wall. Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, 28. Hou, *An Historical Geography of Peiping*, 80–86, 96–97, 99.

[7] The juxtaposition of the axial and irregular patterns is clearly illustrated in various maps of the city. Some examples are maps found in *Baqi tongzhi chuji* 八旗通志初集 [Initial Collection of Comprehensive History of the Eight Banners], compiled by E Ertai (Imperial publication, 1738); *Plan de la ville tartare de Peking* [Map of the Inner City of Beijing] (1765); *Qianlong jingcheng quantu* 乾隆京城全图 [Atlas of the Capital in the Qianlong Period] (1750) and *Shoushan Quantu* 首善全图 [Map of the Capital] (Jiaqing Period, 1796-1820), in *Beijing guditu ji* 北京古地图集 [Beijing in Historical Maps], ed. National Library of China (Beijing: Cehui chubanshe, 2010).

This co-existent status of Dashilar with the Forbidden City requires a closer look. The proximity of Dashilar to the Forbidden City has made it also a part of the reality of Beijing. All that is subjected to ideologically based formalities in the Inner City exists in Dashilar as well, but in a very different existential and expressive order. To this extent, Dashilar is co-extensive with the same real-ideal correspondence with the Forbidden City.

This co-extensive relationship of Dashilar and the Forbidden City can be substantiated by Giorgio Agamben's theorisations. Agamben criticises the common understanding in philosophy and the human sciences that a "paradigm" defines, through institutions, what knowledge is and projects its values. By noting that Michel Foucault tends to regard the "discursive regime" of knowledge as a genuine political phenomenon which only informs the state of knowledge at a given time but never defines it, Agamben redefines the nature of a *paradigm* as ontological rather than ideological.[8] To articulate the ontological character of a *paradigm* more precisely, Agamben recognises that a *paradigm* is a singular case that is exposed in the medium of its knowability, and thereby displays the whole system of which the *paradigm* is a part.[9] That is to say, both the represented whole and the *paradigm* are based on the

[8] Through a close reading of Foucault's writing, Giorgio Agamben suspects that an analogy can be observed between the "paradigm" of Foucault's archaeology and Thomas S. Kuhn's notion of "scientific paradigm" introduced in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). Kuhn displays the normative function of the "paradigm" by describing it as a criterion of scientific truth. The way Foucault has used the term is akin to a "discursive regime" of knowledge that exercises a dominant function over knowledge, and thereby validates the norms of verification and coherence. Unlike Kuhn, who is interested in the universality of the law outlined through the concept of "paradigm," Foucault shows the pure occurrence of the "discursive regimes" and understands the exhibited criterion as true only in an existential sense rather than in an epistemological sense. Giorgio Agamben, "What Is a Paradigm?" in *The Signature of All Things: On Method* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009), 9–18.

[9] Referring to Aristotle, Giorgio Agamben indicates that a *paradigm* entails a movement, different from induction and deduction, taking place from particular to particular. Following a logic of analogy, this movement causes a *paradigm* to never leave its singularity or replace the whole itself. By speculating on the paradoxical structure of "at once sensible and mental" in Plato's understanding of *example*, Agamben further argues that a *paradigm* is neither the ideal nor the sensible, but a third singularity "beside them" that comes into being when a sensible case is considered in the medium of its knowability. Ibid., 18–32.

case's particularity. Therefore, the *paradigm* is only a part of the whole and must sit alongside other parts and even alongside parts of other systems.

The co-existent status of Dashilar with the Forbidden City reveals the Agambenian *paradigm* as ontologically situated rather than, in keeping with the conventional use of the term, as ideologically formed. To this extent, Dashilar and the Forbidden City, as two *paradigms*, share the same limitations: they can only inform part, but not the whole, of the picture of Beijing's reality. Therefore, we need to see Dashilar as an urban paradigm that is co-extensive with but fundamentally different from the Forbidden City.[10] This then would allow us to open up ways for the ontological aspect of Dashilar to be developed into a kind of apparatus of analysis different from axiality and other prescribed structures.

To see Dashilar as a co-extensive urban paradigm with the Forbidden City is critical for us as architects and urban designers who impact the contemporary development of Beijing and Dashilar. Producing formal plans to make connections between buildings, social settings, and their surrounding environments is fundamental for contemporary urban planning and heritage practice. A formal plan provides us with a conceptual layout which to regulate future development and, therefore, is ideological. To fulfil the ideological purpose of the formal plan, contemporary urban practices often adopt analytical approaches that are ideological rather than ontological. For example, when dealing with Dashilar, the *Conservation Plan for Twenty-Five Beijing Old City Historical and Cultural Conservation Areas* developed a set of typologies within which to conserve and renovate the buildings in the designated areas,

[10] This notion of urban paradigm, taken through Agamben's paradigmatic turn, comes from Dr Dorian Wiszniewski's research, supervision and teaching. See Dorian Wiszniewski, *PARA-Situation: The [Loving] Metropolitan Landscape: Architecture Landscape and The Ecosophic Object* (Edinburgh: Architecture, University of Edinburgh, 2013); "Ecosophic Urbanism," Presentation in the "Regional Urbanism in the Era of Globalisation" Conference, University of Huddersfield, February 4, 2016.

including Dashilar. The architectural survey relied on three categories of structural condition and five categories of historical and cultural significance; based on this survey, six categories of conservation and renovation measures were proposed (Plate 5).[11] These categories, however, impose on Dashilar structures that work against its more informal characteristics and inevitably result in damaging its special complexity.

As Dashilar has been operating over centuries as the expression and embodiment of everyday practices that are ontological rather than ideological, no prescribed structures would help in protecting its special complexity. The special complexity of Dashilar is, however, vital for our understanding of Beijing, because it allows us to grasp some agencies that are important for urban formation but are not a given and can never be stated *a priori*. Therefore, to preserve or develop the special complexity of Dashilar, we first need to know how to navigate therein without having any prescribed structures in mind.

1.2 Dashilar as Assemblies of Serial *Heterotopias*

The architecture of Dashilar is a significant aspect of its existential and expressive order. Indeed, the buildings and their aggregation therein register historical mutation, but they are all arranged in a perplexing manner. The warren of streets provides no orthogonal circulation; buildings in various styles constructed in different milieus can be found juxtaposed to one another along the same street. What is constructed constantly nourishes entirely new urban entities, such as the celebrated playhouses that came of age during the eighteenth century, and a manual system of delivering tap water that emerged in the early twentieth century. Not only that; the architectural forms keep

[11] Beijing Municipal People's Government, *Beijing 25 pian lishi wenhua baohuqu baohu guihua* 北京 25 片历史文化保护区保护规划[Conservation Plan for 25 Beijing Old City Historical and Cultural Conservation Areas] (2002). For the English translation, see "Conservation Plan for Twenty-five Beijing Old City Historical and Cultural Conservation Areas," *Chinese Law & Government* 48, no. 3 (2016): 245–253.

evolving, to present us with a great diversity of styles. For example, even the traditional Chinese drugstores that are often built with conforming interiors have created deviating shop fronts. Despite this diversity of architectural form, navigation in the densely occupied area is not a problem for the local people, because many of the buildings have been marked by the names and life stories of the celebrities who have dwelt there over time.

Nonetheless, to elaborate the organisational features of Dashilar through its architecture is not an easy task. As Hou Renzhi describes it, the "only striking feature" is "the long and straight thoroughfare which runs from east to west."[12] The reason for its lesser legibility is that the formation of Dashilar follows simultaneous paths of heterogeneous logic rather than a single logic of traditional homogeneous planning tropes. In other words, any architectural entities in Dashilar are created in highly nuanced specific situations and are, therefore, shaped by their particular and dynamic relationships with many different objects, practices, and concepts. For instance, products were not usually displayed in a shop in Dashilar, the proprietor alone assuming total command of inventory arrangement, customer policies, and any other business-related activities in the shop. As a result, the shop followed its own unique rules that even diverged from those of other shops in the same business. Even if the shop front is initially constructed to display the proprietor's aspirations, the observations and measurements made by others would generate multiple codifications of its architectural features. It was these many specific codifications, together with the proprietor's construction, that gradually evolved the architectural form of the shop front.

Although the architecture of Dashilar is in a state of flux, the constructed features were maintained and recurrently observed to be re-measured and reinstituted in ever-changing developing contexts. Observing some of the

[12] Hou, *An Historical Geography of Peiping*, 87.

enduring patterns and formalities would then allow us to open up a reading of the multiple codifications around these features and, thereby, inform us of the constitutive forces in the formation of Dashilar. In this way, the architectural entities can reveal specific apparatuses beyond their own organisation. For example, the steam-train and other western elements comprising the shop front of *Deshou tang*, a traditional Chinese drugstore in Dashilar, take root not only in the proprietor's particular management practice, which catered to the demands of urban customers of lower socio-economic status, but also in the rationales behind the trading of medicines at *Tianqiao*, a newly emerged market to the south-east of Dashilar in the 1920s, where the target customers of *Deshou tang* usually bought their daily necessities.

To this extent, *heterotopia* can be constructed as a useful term to comprehend the nature of the architectural entities in Dashilar. This term is first elaborated as "other places" by the French philosopher Michel Foucault.[13] Foucault is interested in the real places that are "in relation with all the other sites"[14] but are "absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about;"[15] by "suspecting, neutralising, or inverting the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect,"[16] they allow us to see a larger construct of what is outside them. Following the template established by the notion of *utopia*, Foucault calls these places "heterotopias" – the prefix *hetero-* coming from the Ancient Greek *héteros*, meaning "other" or "different," combined with the Greek morpheme *tópos*, meaning "place." Indeed, the architectural entities in Dashilar share these two properties of the Foucauldian *heterotopia*. First, any architectural entity in Dashilar is created and maintained by its particular and dynamic relationships with many different objects, practices, and concepts, and therefore is different from all other places. Second, by interacting with

[13] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 22–27.

[14] Ibid., 24.

[15] Ibid., 24.

[16] Ibid., 24.

others in its formation, an architectural entity in Dashilar can reveal apparatuses beyond its own organisational rules.

It is worth noting that the Foucauldian *heterotopia* is political. It is political in the sense that Foucault realises that spaces are no longer defined by emplacement but relations, and he thinks "heterotopias"—through their complex relations with other sites—are able to inform how power penetrates spaces and governs the forms of life. Therefore, Foucault draws a sharp distinction between "heterotopias" and all the other real space: as a special situation "outside of all places,"[17] a "heterotopia" resists conformity to the larger construct that it reveals. Such "outside" status stresses the normative role of the larger construct and, therefore, identifies the Foucauldian *heterotopia* as a form of "crisis" or "deviation."[18]

The architectural entities in Dashilar as *heterotopias*, however, do not have the status of being "outside." In Dashilar, all the architectural entities are absolutely different from others for being in specific relations to a series of real places; being diverse situations that sit alongside each other, they create collectively, over time, the larger construct of Dashilar. Therefore, the notion of *heterotopia* as found in Dashilar is not to inform political techniques through which a dominant power shapes everyday practice. Instead, the *heterotopia* that raises from Dashilar takes a form of *construction* and reveals how everyday practices gradually build up Dashilar as a larger construct. To this extent, we can understand why a shop is just a "normal" place in Foucault's explanation but can be seen as a *heterotopia* in Dashilar.

In Dashilar, a *heterotopia* is potentially related to all other places and through its relations with a series of other *heterotopias* can inform certain apparatuses

[17] Ibid., 24.

[18] Ibid., 24–25.

that play constitutive roles in the formation of Dashilar. Nonetheless, these apparatuses only form part of Dashilar. To grasp Dashilar as a construct of everyday practice, we need to keep looking into the many different assemblies of serial *heterotopias*. This is how we can grasp the organisational features of Dashilar through its architecture.

1.3 Characterising Dashilar Through Everyday *Things*

By seeing architectural entities as *heterotopias* and through their assemblies, we can gradually grasp the many constitutive apparatuses that are among Dashilar's organisational features. Nonetheless, there is still the question of how to identify and categorise assemblies of *heterotopias*. A possible way is to look at both the tangible and intangible formalities that endure in Dashilar through successive milieus, because they recur in the formation of various *heterotopias*. For example, the blue-and-white teacup that enjoys a constant prevalence in Dashilar allows us to see the playhouses and the water supply system as a series of interrelated *heterotopias*. While great changes have taken place in the operation of playhouses and the water supply, the blue-and-white teacup still presents itself in Dashilar as it did before. The connections that have been embedded in the blue-and-white teacup therefore can be recurrently traced, with the potential to take on roles in the formation or evolution of *heterotopias* in new contexts.

If we take a closer look, we can find these enduring formalities playing different roles in the formation of various *heterotopias*. In the formation of playhouses, for instance, the proprietor used the blue-and-white teacup as a key instrument with which to execute his profit-making model. At the same time, the presence of the blue-and-white teacup in the playhouse invoked both audiences and actors to recognise their varying desires and different capacities of buying, and thereby made the playhouse a marketplace and allowed a teacup-based expressive order of desire to emerge and thrive in the playhouse. To this extent,

the blue-and-white teacup was not only a material object being captured by the management of the playhouse's proprietor, but also an agent itself, moulding the operational complexity of the playhouse. The different roles of the blue-and-white teacup allow it to be called a *thing* – an entity, that is, as used by Bruno Latour, indicating not only an object but also a non-human agent that "deploy[s] and gather[s] its rich set of connections."[19] Following the insight of the Latourian *thing*, we can use *thing* as a term to describe all the enduring formalities, both tangible and intangible, to be found in Dashilar.

The Latourian *thing* is particularly helpful in enabling us to grasp the nature of those enduring formalities in Dashilar, because it is based on the understanding that the world is ontologically rather than ideologically formed. Latour argues that the social and natural laws that we commonly use to understand the world are the outcomes, rather than the starting points, of complex negotiation between human and non-human entities.[20] That is to say, neither human nor non-human entities are embedded in pre-existent or static structures; instead, the formation of our world starts from the contingent connections occurring between "irreducible, incommensurable, and unconnected localities."[21] In this process, non-human entities play the same role as human entities and, therefore, require equal treatment.

The Latourian *thing* also reminds us that those enduring formalities in Dashilar, as *things*, always play an interchangeable role as either *actor* or *actant*. Based on such an ontological claim, Latour seeks a descriptive device that permits readings of how social and physical entities emerge together. As all external references have been bracketed out, Latour develops *actor* and *actant* as two

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[19] Bruno Latour, "Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern," *Critical Inquiry* 30, no. 2 (2004): 233.

[20] Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[21] Bruno Latour, "On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications Plus More than a Few Complications," *Soziale Welt* 47 (1996): 370.

key notions to describe the dynamic deployment of connections between entities: an entity can be called an *actor* when it acts with a goal of identifying other entities and trying to bind them; those entities that are recognised as the source of an action can be called *actants.*[22] Despite the fact that a network of entities can be described as if it were the result of an action of the *actor*, accepted by a group of *actants*, the network has a real existence and such a description does not lead to any reduction of those entities as either *actor* or *actant*.

The enduring formalities in Dashilar are at the pivot of multiple networks between both human and non-human agencies. These formalities are critical because through them we can characterise the assemblies of *heterotopias* and describe Dashilar as an urban paradigm formed ontologically. As this dissertation will show in later chapters, these enduring formalities are everyday *things* like teacups, shop fronts, and even apocryphal stories, which have therefore been long overlooked by conventional urban planning and heritage practice. By demonstrating how these everyday *things* at the same time serve as *actor* and *actant* in different networks of ontological entities in Dashilar, this dissertation argues that they should be seen as significant and as a different kind of heritage that is not only the outcome of certain historical practices, but also consists of potential agencies that invent or modify the social and spatial fabric of Dashilar.

1.4 Navigating Through *Heterotopias* and *Things*: Dashilar as Urban Paradigm

Dashilar is part of axial Beijing but its operation remains off-axis. As a being formed ontologically, Dashilar can allow us to grasp some agencies that are important for the reality of Beijing but can never be stated *a priori*. To this extent,

[22] Ibid., 369–381.

Dashilar should be seen as an urban paradigm co-extensive with the ideal Beijing.

Conventional urban planning and heritage practice, however, appears insensible to the different existential and expressive order of Dashilar. This dissertation casts doubt on the ability of the traditional typological analysis of urban design to communicate the special complexity of Dashilar: regulating the analysis in terms of recurring spatial solutions to architectural problems will overlook various significant specificities in the urban formation of Dashilar.

This dissertation suggests that Dashilar should not be straightforwardly rendered as the range of formal plans thus far undertaken. Instead, it develops a different analytical approach through the concepts of *heterotopias* and *things* to characterise the special complexity of Dashilar. That is, by seeing architectural entities as *heterotopias* and in terms of their assemblies, we can gradually grasp many apparatuses that play constitutive roles in the urban formation of Dashilar, while the assemblies of *heterotopias* are to be identified through everyday *things* – the enduring formalities to be found in Dashilar. To grasp Dashilar as an urban paradigm, this analytical approach requires us to adopt a research agenda that keeps looking for the everyday *things* that have taken on the constitutive roles in the urban formation of Dashilar, and sees them as potential agencies that might invent or modify the social and spatial fabric of Dashilar.

Under this theoretical framework, the dissertation first draws the attention of contemporary urban practice to a seventeenth-century representation, the twelfth scroll of Wang Hui's depiction of the Qing Emperor Kangxi's return to Beijing, *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour* 康熙南巡图, which portrays Dashilar as an urban paradigm co-extensive with the Forbidden City. It then demonstrates how we can grasp Dashilar as an urban paradigm through *heterotopias* and everyday *things* by giving three examples –

assemblages of *heterotopias* that are held together by three everyday *things*: teacups, shop fronts, and the apocryphal stories of the Mustard Seed Garden.

First, this dissertation looks into practices around the blue-and-white teacup to reveal it as an agent that helped the exchange of different desires and constituted the special complexities of the playhouses and the modern water supply system as *heterotopias*. Specifically, the cup made the playhouses in Dashilar become marketplaces and constituted an expressive order of desire assisting with socio-cultural exchange; responding to the agency of desire embodied by the cup, the municipal water plants and water suppliers negotiated with their customers and piloted a manual system of delivering tap water in Dashilar.

Second, this dissertation focuses on the shop fronts, forming the entrance to two series of *heterotopias.* Through analysing the practices around traditional Chinese drugstores, it demonstrates how the shop fronts conditioned the principles of exchange by performing to both proprietors and outsiders; analysing the practices around the silk fabric stores, it explores how the shop fronts constantly participated in the evolution of other shops in their management and architectural forms.

Third, through the apocryphal stories of the Mustard Seed Garden, this dissertation sees the residential buildings in Dashilar as serial *heterotopias* and speculates on them as places that welcome itinerant dwellers and incorporate them into the social fabric of Dashilar. It sees how the itinerant dweller Li Yu 李渔 (1610–1680) and his Garden in Nanjing were interwoven with the local history of Dashilar; it also argues the necessity of noting the long-established relationship between the Garden and the native-place lodge of Guangzhou, another significant component of Dashilar, since understanding this relationship helps in understanding how the native-place lodges work

differently in forming the communities in Dashilar and Beijing from the way they operate in other cities, such as Shanghai.

The endurance of these three everyday *things* allows us to take up further opportunities to critically re-evaluate them in the contemporary context and, thereby, to keep Dashilar co-extensive with the ideal Beijing. To understand Dashilar as an urban paradigm formed ontologically is a crucial part of the thinking about promoting adaptability and diversity from an everyday life perspective in architectural and general cultural practice. Eschewing the reductive tendencies of the conventional top-down and bottom-up approaches, the real situation of Dashilar informs an alternative approach to mediate the everyday and extraordinary aspects of life.

Chapter Two

Learning from a Historical Representation

Two decades after the Forbidden City was turned into the Palace Museum in 1925, a T-shaped enclosure in front of the old Imperial City, which once lacked any assigned name but was a constitutive part of the axial apparatus representing the emperor's centrality, began to be reconstructed as the new centre of Beijing: its status since 1949. Through the breaking up of this enclosure and its conversion into a large public square that features physical immensity along with a set of monuments, the new metaphysical diagram of Beijing has been established on the same central axis but with its centre relocated to the south of the Forbidden City. This transformation causes Dashilar to sit immediately opposite the centre, Tiananmen Square, on its south (Plate 6). At the same time, the entire area of Dashilar is a rare survivor of the *tabula rasa* development of old neighbourhoods widely implemented in Beijing during the 1990s. As a result, Dashilar has been attracting more and more attention and is considered increasingly salient for both its proximity to the centre and its integrity as a historical neighbourhood.

Everyday Beijing now surrounds not only the Forbidden City but also Dashilar. Both the Forbidden City and Dashilar have become islands of urban paradigms co-existent with but fundamentally different from the reconstructed Beijing. The Forbidden City still operates as it always did. Dashilar, however, is past its heyday of what clearly would have been an intense environment, energised through multitudinous social, cultural and economic exchanges. Nonetheless, the occupants of Dashilar still operate very sophisticated modes of trans-spatial correspondence: although the dynamics of Dashilar are evidently not precisely the same now, it is clear that they once would have had, and to a certain extent still do have, some aspects of interdependence.

Due to such trans-spatial correspondences, Dashilar does not conform to universalising planning impulses and, therefore, represents a critical problem for contemporary urban redevelopment practice. This chapter first briefly reviews how the course of contemporary urban practice has affected Dashilar during recent decades. It then, from the perspective of Dashilar as urban paradigm, examines two of the most recent practices that aim at better describing Dashilar – the central installation "Across City Sections" by DONTSTOP architettura, accomplished in 2014[1] and the comic book *A Little bit About Beijing: Dashilar* by Li Han and Hu Yan, published in 2015.[2]

Although both descriptions have noted the uniqueness of Dashilar's dynamics, neither has fully grasped the ontological nature of Dashilar. There exists, however, a long tradition of seeing Dashilar not only as a co-existent situation (urban paradigm) in variance with the axiality of the Forbidden City, but also as a long-practised coalition of numerous strange places of specific but diverse practices (*heterotopias*). This tradition is evidenced in a historical representation of Dashilar found in the twelfth scroll of *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour* 康熙南巡图. In this chapter, I will analyse how this historical representation presents Dashilar as an existential *paradigm* and a co-existent partner of the ideologically framed Beijing. This analysis will further inform us of a possible way to describe the complexities of the ontologically framed apparatus of Dashilar.

2.1 Dashilar in the Contemporary Urban Practice of Beijing, 1991–2010

After the old city of Beijing witnessed the demolition of a vast number of historic monuments in the first three decades of the People's Republic of China, it

[1] DONTSTOP architettura, "Across Chinese Cities – Beijing," accessed May 18, 2014, https://www.omrirevesz.com/work/across-chinese-cities.

[2] Li Han 李涵 and Hu Yan 胡妍, *Yidianer Beijing: Dashilar* 一点儿北京：大栅栏 [A little bit about Beijing: Dashilar] (Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 2015).

further experienced severe destruction of its traditional neighbourhoods in the 1990s. The poor physical condition of residential buildings in the old city of Beijing was recognised as early as the mid-1970s. The redevelopment of dilapidated housing, however, was not widely promoted because the Municipality, which primarily funded those redevelopment projects for social benefit, had a limited budget.[3] Nonetheless, great changes took place during the 1990s. As the use right of state-owned urban land was separated from its ownership, allowing it to be sold and leased, the real-estate industry began to emerge in Beijing.[4] In this context, the sound economic values of the centrally-located historical neighbourhoods were immediately appreciated.[5] Therefore, the redevelopment of dilapidated housing was transformed into the pursuit of economic benefit and fell into the form of large-scale renewal projects "involving massive demolition and ruthless displacement."[6]

These large-scale renewal projects caused the loss of many old neighbourhoods, together with their social and cultural values. As such loss brought both domestic and international criticism to the Municipality Government, it was driven to give the preservation of old urban areas higher priority in its agenda. This change was first reflected in the *Beijing City Master Plan 1991–2010*, carried out in 1994. Despite it encouraging the growing development activity, the plan also suggested "a balance in the integration of

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[3] Fang Ke 方可, "Tansuo Beijing jiucheng juzhuqu youji gengxin de shiyi tujing" 探索北京旧城居住区有机更新的适宜途径 [An Appropriate Approach to Organic Renewal in the Residential Areas of Old Beijing] (PhD diss., Tsinghua University, 1999), 20–23.

[4] David Wills and Jean Jinghan Chen, *The Impact of China's Economic Reforms Upon Land, Property and Construction* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Wu Fulong, "China's Recent Urban Development in the Process of Land and Housing Marketisation and Economic Globalisation," *Habitat International* 25, no. 3 (2001): 273–289; Zhang Yan and Fang Ke, "Politics of Housing Redevelopment in China: The Rise and Fall of the Ju'er Hutong Project in Inner-City Beijing," *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 18, no. 1 (2003): 76.

[5] Lv Junhua, "Beijing's Old and Dilapidated Housing Renewal," *Cities* 14, no. 2 (1997): 59–69.

[6] Fang Ke and Zhang Yan, "Plan and Market Mismatch: Urban Redevelopment in Beijing during a Period of Transition," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 44, no. 2 (2003): 149.

contemporary development with the city's ancient heritage." [7] Such "integration," as criticised by Daniel Benjamin Abramson, simply stressed the visual conceptualisation of the city's historic character, viewing it as "an expression of state power rather than of everyday life."[8]

In this master plan, Dashilar was an object of particular concern. First, the commercial function of Dashilar was considered significant in its contemporary development. Along with *Wangfujing* 王府井 and *Xidan* 西单, Dashilar was designated as one of the three major commercial-cultural centres at the municipal level, providing the rest of the city with advanced and modernised services.[9] Second, the plan designated Dashilar as one of the twenty-five historic preservation districts. Considering the "*fengmao*" 风貌 of Dashilar – its visual characteristics – as an important component of the old city as a whole, the plan required the architectural style and features of Dashilar to be sorted and protected.[10]

Developed upon this master plan, the actual boundaries of Dashilar as a historic preservation district were finally approved by the Municipality Government in 1999.[11] From then on, preservation plans were constantly being made to provide more detailed guidelines for its development. The implementation of these preservation plans, however, remained very limited because of their failure to be well incorporated into the master plan that emphasised Dashilar's economic success. As a result, Dashilar was left

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[7] Tim Heath and Yue Tang, "Beijing's Hutong and Siheyuan: Conservation of an Urban Identity," *Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers: Municipal Engineer* 163, no. 3 (2010): 158.

[8] Daniel Benjamin Abramson, "The Aesthetics of City-scale Preservation Policy in Beijing," *Planning Perspectives* 22, no. 2 (2010): 144.

[9] Beijing Municipal People's Government, Beijing chengshi zongti guihua (1991–2010) 北京城市总体规划（1991 年至 2010 年） [Beijing Urban Master Plan, 1991–2010] (1994).

[10] Ibid.

[11] This officially approved territory for preservation covers an area along the oblique main street running through Dashilar, which is only one third of what I call Dashilar in this dissertation.

untouched until the early 2000s. While *Wangfujing* and *Xidan* continued to serve as the most prominent commercial centres following completion of their infrastructural reconstruction, Dashilar, as a rare survivor of *tabula rasa* development, experienced the degradation of its commercial function. Such degradation sharply contrasted with the ideal of Dashilar maintaining its economic prosperity through its geographically central location. This sharp contrast between the ideal and the reality made Dashilar a critical problem for the Municipality Government.

During the critical period of the 1990s, the architectural historian Wang Shiren initiated a systematic documentation of historical buildings in the *Xuannan* 宣南 area, a district outside the Xuanwu Gate including Dashilar and the area to its west (Plate 7). At the time of its publication in August 1997, this document was regarded as an encyclopaedia of mundane buildings. Wang entitled it *Xuannan hongxue tuzhi* 宣南鸿雪图志, which literally means "the atlas of [footmarks left by] swan geese [on the] snow in the Xuannan area."[12] Through this literal expression, Wang compares the documented buildings to the fading traces of swan geese left on the melting snow, in order to emphasise the urgency of the situation: that is, that if the buildings were not taken good care of, the traces of the rich lives in the area would finally vanish.

Although *Xuannan hongxue tuzhi* was pioneering for documenting an entire urban area rather than focusing on individual buildings, this document still recorded the historical buildings in the area as valued objects. In the introduction, Wang Shiren simply categorised the documented buildings into general groups according to their historical functions. Such a generic review did not probe the complex relations that the documented buildings were in. To

[12] This title borrows the phrase "*xueni hongzhao"* 雪泥鸿爪 from a poem by the Song literati Su Shi 苏轼 (1307–1101). Wang Shiren, Beijing Shi Xuanwu Qu jianshe guanli weiyuanhui 北京市宣武区建设管理委员会, and Beijing Shi gudai jianzhu yanjiusuo 北京市古代建筑研究所, eds., *Xuannan hongxue tuzhi* 宣南鸿雪图志 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1997).

this extent, the document was of little help in grasping the uniqueness of the area as an intense environment energised through multitudinous social, cultural and economic exchanges.

Without viewing the area as an adaptive situation, Wang Shiren's study was not sufficient to prevent the intense and unique environment of Xuannan from vanishing. From the early 2000s, urban renewal started to erode Dashilar when the commercial districts in front of the *Qianmen* 前门(Zhengyang Gate) were assigned the role of significant cultural amenities for the 2008 Olympics. Projected as the Champs-Elysees of Beijing, *Qianmen dajie* 前门大街 (Qianmen Avenue) on the Central Axis was planned as a pedestrian area for high-end shopping and entertainment. As a result, it was suggested that the two roads parallel to Qianmen Avenue on both the east and the west sides be widened for vehicular transportation. The road on the west side was a north-south alley running across east Dashilar, called *Meishi jie* 煤市街 (Coal Market Street). In this way, a portion of the neighbourhood east of *Meishi jie* was involved in the pre-Olympics renovation agenda.

In this context, the preservation planning of Dashilar was hastened. In 2003, the Xuanwu District Government authorised planning institutions to explore guidelines for east Dashilar through a new regulatory plan (Plate 8).[13] Nonetheless, solid plans never succeeded in catching up with the actions at

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[13] In *Beijing Qianmen Dashilar diqu baohu zhengzhi fazhan guihua* 北京前门大栅栏地区保护、整治、复兴规划 [Preservation, Regulation, and Redevelopment Plan of Beijing Qianmen Dashilar District] (2004) completed by the Urban and Architectural Research Institute of Tsinghua University, efforts were made to innovate the regulatory methods. Based on the idea of small-scale redevelopment, the courtyard was suggested as the unit for land delimitation, controls were taken at the levels of courtyard and building, and GIS was applied to organise the historical, current, and planning data. Tang Yan 唐燕, "*Lishi wenhua jiequ de kongzhixing xiangxi guihua bianzhi fangfa tansuo – yi Beijing Dashilar Meishi jie yidong diqu weili*" 历史文化街区的控制性详细规划编制方法探索——以北京大栅栏煤市街以东地区为例 [Exploring the Methods of Regulatory Planning for Historical and Cultural Neighbourhood – A Case Study on the Area East of Meishi Street in Dashilar, Beijing], in *2009 Zhongguo chengshi guihua nianhui lunwenji* 2009 中国城市规划年会论文集 [Proceedings of Annual National Planning Conference] (2009): 2648–2656.

Qianmen dajie and *Meishi jie*.[14] Because the Olympics had imposed a tight deadline, the conventional approach of large-scale redevelopment was adopted so as to ensure the completion of those projects and an upgrade in their visual effect and economic value.[15] Along Qianmen Avenue, the shops on the western edge of Dashilar, which had been built in different milieus and preserved architectural evidence of different epochs, were replaced by neat copies of late-Qing and early-Republican style. Not only that; the old shops were prevented from moving back after the Avenue was reopened because the rent had increased dramatically. Within the eastern portion of Dashilar, many residential courtyards were bulldozed on the grounds that they were dilapidated and dangerous. Lack of a comprehensive plan for the process of reconstruction meant that the demolished area had to remain unbuilt before the Olympics. To hide the destroyed neighbourhoods, long walls were erected to enclose the construction site. In the end, the overnight-created Qianmen Avenue, along with the deliberately decorated partitions, conveyed an embarrassing picture of Beijing in 2008 (Plate 9).

The renovation of *Meishi jie* broke up Dashilar into two parts. The 20-hectare site to the east of the Street was expected to enhance the commercial role of Qianmen Area and simultaneously boost the hinterland of Dashilar. The area to the west of the Street remained relatively untouched. Although two projects were commenced to upgrade the infrastructural facilities respectively from the north edge and west edge of this area, neither of them saw much progress before the Olympics. While the post-Olympics era was expected to provide a tremendous opportunity to accomplish all the renovation projects, they all fell into stagnation until the 2010s. As the reality of Dashilar is still considered inconsistent with its central location and assigned economic prosperity, it has remained a critical problem for the Municipality Government up to the 2010s.

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[14] Ibid.; see also Zhang Yue, "The Fragmented City: Politics of Urban Preservation in Beijing, Paris, and Chicago" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2008), 70.

[15] Zhang, "The Fragmented City," 70–71.

2.2 New Urban Experiments in Dashilar, post-2010

The stagnation of redevelopment efforts in Dashilar has presented a rare opportunity for reflection. The understanding of Dashilar as a problem is therefore growing in complexity: Dashilar's deserved prosperity and traditional vibrancy relied not only on its geographical location, but also on its heterogeneous yet interdependent mix of business and people. This growing understanding has caused the local government to recognise that the existing urban planning and implementation strategies can provide few viable solutions, and that new solutions are to be explored based on creating a more sophisticated ideal for Dashilar through re-envisioning its past.

Therefore, re-describing Dashilar becomes an overriding task which is seen by the local government as "critical to the success of a new revitalisation strategy."[16] In this context, many different groups are invited to experiment with the portrayal of Dashilar by offering their own perspectives. Whatever these various new descriptions have revealed, they have been put together with some existent documents about Dashilar.[17] This whole collection of both old

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[16] Dashilar Platform and SANS, "Identity," in *Dashilar Project,* exhibition publication of "Commemorate the Venice 100 in Beijing: China City Pavilion at 2014 Venice Architecture Biennale, Beijing Special Exhibition," 2014, 30.

[17] Ibid. The included existent documents are: Wang Shiren 王世仁, ed., *Xuannan hongxue tuzhi* 宣南鸿雪图志; Wang Jun 王军, *Cheng ji* 城记 [Record of a City] (Beijing: Shenghuo, dushu, xinzhi sanlian shudian, 2003); Ye Zurun 业祖润, *Beijing minju* 北京民居 [Beijing's Dwellings] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2009); Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 [Historical Atlas of the South of Xuanwu, Beijing] (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008); Niu Wenyi 牛文怡, ed., *Beijing mijing: 52 duan chongxin faxian Beijing de lvcheng* 北京秘境：52 段重发现北京的旅程 [Inside Beijing: 52 Journeys Re-finding Beijing] (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2013); *Beijing baike quanshu: Xuanwu juan* 北京百科全书：宣武卷 [Encyclopedia of Beijing: Xuanwu Volume] (Beijing: Aolinpike chubanshe, 2002); Chen Gang 陈刚 and Zhu Jiaguang 朱嘉广, eds., *Lishi wenhua mingcheng Beijing xilie congshu* 历史文化名城北京系列丛书 [Series on the Historically and Culturally Famed City Beijing] (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2005); Shen Nianyue 沈念乐, ed., *Liuli chang shihua* 琉璃厂史画 [Historical Pictures of Liuli Chang] (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2001); Feng Xiaochuan 冯小川, ed., *Beijing mingren guju* 北京名人故居 [Celebrities' Residences in Beijing] (Beijing: Renmin ribao chubanshe, 2002); Wang Yongbin 王永斌, *Da Qianmen: Wang Yongbin koushu lao Beijing shenghuo* 大前门：王永斌口述老北京生活 [Grand Qianmen: Wang Yongbin's Oral History of the Life in the Old Beijing], eds. Wang Wei 王炜 and Guo Wei 郭韡 (Beijing: Xueyuan

and new descriptions has then been sorted into conventional categories such as “built environment and preservation,” “business ecology, local industry and craft,” and “property right and formal community participation.”[18] In this way, all the descriptions are reduced to an overall framework that defines the new ideal of Dashilar.

Indeed, this collection of descriptions is of great value. Some of them have provided intriguing details or insightful reflections, but unfortunately, in the shade of the overarching ideological framework. From the perspective that Dashilar is an alternative urban paradigm to the ideological framework, all the descriptions can be examined in a different way. Among them, the installation “Across City Sections” and the comic book *A Bit About Beijing: Dashilar* are particularly noteworthy – the former for its reflection on Dashilar’s special relationship with the ideal Beijing, and the latter for its unusual form of representation.

“Across City Sections:” Dashilar is Juxtaposed with Ideal Beijing

The first description is the central installation “Across City Sections” (2014) by DONTSTOP architettura in the exhibition “Across Chinese Cities – Beijing” curated by Michele Brunello (DONTSTOP architettura) and Beatrice Leanza (Beijing Design Week). [19] This installation investigates Beijing’s spatial programme by taking the Central Axis and Dashilar as a pair of cross-references. The installation represents the city through a set of “City Sections” – five 7 metres long, 3D printed models scaled 1 to 500 – which present the southern half of the Central Axis at five particular moments during its history. Immediately on the east of the Central Axis, a portion of Dashilar is included as a crucial part of each Section.

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chubanshe, 2009); Zhao Heng 赵珩, *Jiushi fengwu* 旧时风物 [Sceneries of the Old Time] (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2009).

[18] Ibid.

[19] DONTSTOP architettura, “Across Chinese Cities – Beijing.”

Taking a closer look, we see how these Sections juxtaposed Dashilar with five representations of ideal Beijing in different milieus. The first Section, of 1488, describes a time when Dashilar began to thrive outside the Inner City but in clear contrast to the axiality defined by the Forbidden City. The other four refer to the construction of *Xiangchang* 香厂, Beijing's first Central Business District, in 1914; the inauguration of the Monument to the People's Heroes, the Great Hall of the People and the Museum of Chinese History on Tiananmen Square in 1958; the opening of Henderson Centre, a representative moment of the economic reforms during the 1980–90s, in 1992; and the contemporary situation in 2014 (Plate 10).[20]

Through these Sections, the designers and curators wish to demonstrate that Dashilar has been maintaining an adaptive capacity in its spatial programme and that this capacity allows it to be juxtaposed with either the invariant core of the Forbidden City or the grand transformations of Republican, Communist, and Contemporary Beijing.[21] What is not explicated by the designers and curators but is clearly visualised by the Sections is Dashilar as a space of autonomous alterity that has sat, and should still be sitting, alongside the changing ideals of Beijing and their representations.

A Little bit About Beijing: Dashilar as "Architectural Comics"

The second description is the book *A Little bit About Beijing: Dashilar* by Li Han and Hu Yan. This work creatively turns ten architectural projects in Dashilar, both new and old, into a comic strip (Plate 11). Seeing each architectural project as part of a particular narrator's life story, Li Han puts elevations, sections and isometric projections into comics so as to add everyday life into the architectural drawing.[22] Such a combination of

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Li and Hu, *Yidianer Beijing*, 163.

architectural drawing and comics, as indicated by Wang Hui, provides us with a seemingly easier way of perceiving the complexity of architecture and city: while the architectural arrangement opens up a simultaneous dimension of everyday life, the comics provide us with a sequential one.[23]

This comic book, however, turns out to be of little help in perceiving the architectural complexity of Dashilar. The comics often describe the physical arrangement as a clear illustration of the plot, which is already a reductive version of the narrator's understanding of the space. Emphasising the concepts of architectural elements over their physical appearance, the authors have omitted many of their nuances and reduced them to neatly arranged shapes with bright and saturated colours. In this way, these architectural elements lose their separate identities and, therefore, cannot be re-evaluated so as to construct a different story. The result is that all the stories in this comic book are presented as independent "excursuses:"[24] although one reveals a set of connections between everyday life and the built-environment, it cares little about the possibilities and connections outside its own plot. This is obviously in contrast with the formation of Dashilar, which relied upon the interrelations of different objects, practices and concepts.

Both these recent descriptions have noted the uniqueness of Dashilar's dynamics, but neither has fully grasped the ontological nature of Dashilar. There exists, however, a longer tradition of seeing Dashilar not only as a co-existent informal urban arrangement to the formal axiality of the Forbidden City, but also as a long-practised coalition of numerous *heterotopias*. To learn about the earlier appreciation of the co-existent urban paradigm that has conditioned

[23] Ibid, 13–14.

[24] Sarah Whiting, "Critical Reflections," *Assemblage* 41 (2000): 88. Whiting reflects on the phenomenon that "recent architectural writing is laced with the intricacies of a highly personal excursus" and indicates that "the value of narrative lies in its potentially projective modality."

the formation of Beijing, we can look into a historical representation of Dashilar in the twelfth scroll of *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*.

2.3 Learning from a Historical Representation of Dashilar

The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour is a painting accomplished in the 1690s by a group of Qing Court painters under the supervision of the renowned scholar-artist Wang Hui 王翬 (1632–1717). This remarkable work is composed of a series of twelve long handscrolls, and each scroll consists of a prefatory text followed by an illustration. The twelve scrolls constitute a large narrative space that gives an account of Emperor Kangxi's (r. 1661–1722) second Southern Tour in 1689.[25] Among the twelve scrolls, the last one is distinguished from the others by its lack of description beyond the physical confines of Beijing. In Scroll Twelve, the broad axial way of Beijing is temporarily turned into a forbidden space for the emperor's return from the southern suburb to the imperial palace. At the same time, this scroll portrays Dashilar as the only element that is off the Central Axis.

Presenting a portion of the Central Axis of the city, this scroll has been used individually in various investigations to illustrate Imperial Beijing as a metaphysical diagram and a spectacle of the state (Plate 12).[26] Indeed, Scroll Twelve has clearly illustrated the imperial ideology and its political techniques.

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[25] "The first scroll starts with scenes representing the departure of the imperial entourage from *Yongding men* 永定门, the southern gate of Beijing's Outer City. The next ten scrolls depict major political and ceremonial activities that the emperor carried out on his journey across China from north to south: he inspects flood control work at the Yellow and Huai Rivers, makes a grand ritual sacrifice to Heaven at sacred Mountain Tai, pays homage to the tombs of previous dynastic founders, and celebrates the prosperity of southern cities such as Suzhou and Hangzhou. The last scroll in the set depicts his return to the imperial palace." Wu Hung, *Remaking Beijing: Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space* (London: Reaktion, 2005), 169; see also Maxwell K. Hearn, "The Kangxi Southern Inspection Tour: A Narrative Program by Wang Hui" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1990), 35–174.

[26] Some examples are Zhu Jianfei's *Chinese Spatial Strategies: Imperial Beijing, 1420–1911* (London: Routledge, 2004) and "A Celestial Battlefield: The Forbidden City and Beijing in Late Imperial China," *AA Files*, no. 28 (1994); Wu Hung, *Remaking Beijing*.

First, the emperor's appearance along the central axis of the centric and symmetric Beijing affirms his role, as suggested by Confucianism, as a legitimate sovereign who mediates between Heaven and humans. Second, the control of access creates asymmetries of power on the two sides of the city walls, revealing a hidden structure of political domination. Such hierarchical disposition of accessibility, as indicated by Wu Hung, is even emphasised by two different forms of clouds: the centre is concealed by thick and rigid clouds, while the periphery is exposed by thin and flowing ones.[27]

While historians are interested in Scroll Twelve as a representation of the imperial ideology and its political techniques, they have seldom emphasised the portrayal of Dashilar and its co-existent status with the Central Axis. For them, the details of Dashilar are simply to represent the urban society's conformity to the imperial power. In this way of seeing, the imperial ideology offers an overarching structure and every detail in this scroll tends to be reduced to an element of this structure.

Nonetheless, Maxwell K. Hearn has reminded us that Scroll Twelve represents more than the imperial ideology.[28] Hearn observes that, in the composition of this scroll, Wang Hui has borrowed at least two prototypes from the history paintings sponsored by the Song emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–62) – the overall format of text-and-picture and an official procession of "return" – to legitimise Chinese cultural norms alongside the Manchu emperor's authority.[29] As *The*

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[27] Wu, *Remaking Beijing*, 171.

[28] Hearn, "The Kangxi Southern Inspection Tour"; "Art Creates History: Wang Hui and the Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour," in *Landscapes Clear and Radiant: The Art of Wang Hui (1632–1717)*, ed. Maxwell K. Hearn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008): 129–185.

[29] First, this scroll presents itself as a unit of text-and-picture alongside other eleven units. The twelve scrolls together have formed "an episodic structure with a tight focus on the central figure of the drama." Such overall format is an exact heritage from the period of Gaozong. Second, illustrating an official progress through "going forth" or "return" became a convention for court painting in the Gaozong cycle, even though the origin of this representational manner could date back at least to Han times (202 B.C–220 A.D). Gaozong established these

Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour sets up a new model for court-sponsored paintings, these two prototypes as essential elements of this model simultaneously render this scroll a representation of traditional Chinese values, helping the Chinese literati from southern provinces to secure their basis of power in Qing politics.

In Hearn's analysis, the detailed formats found in Scroll Twelve are deactivated from the specific context of Emperor Kangxi's return and the metaphysical diagram of Beijing. Instead, Hearn has regarded them as *paradigmatic* singularities that can at the same time inform us of the imperial and the elite cultural canon. To this extent, Hearn's analysis shows how the single pictorial structure of Scroll Twelve has mediated between the subjectivity of the emperor and that of the southern literati. The Central Axis, although portrayed as "a sacred precinct,"[30] allows the expression and juxtaposition of different subjectivities.

Hearn, however, fails to recognise the separated subjectivity of urban society and the canon of everyday life. He distinguishes Scroll Twelve from the others because it is the only one that does not celebrate the rich urban culture.[31] Although he has noticed the presence of two groups of inhabitants, one at the commercial district Dashilar and the other at the rear end of the Central Axis, Hearn simply regards them as representations of the conforming urban society and, therefore, merely as part of the imperial ideology.

Following the deconstruction of Hearn's analysis, we can investigate the detailed formats of the urban society in Scroll Twelve as *paradigmatic* singularities that can also present the canon of everyday life. In this way of

archetypal structures to endow the essential values of culture with forms, hence to confirm the monarch's legitimate status in the cultural system. Hearn, "Art Creates History," 176.

[30] Hearn, "The Kangxi Southern Inspection Tour," 222.

[31] Ibid., 208–222.

seeing, the presence of urban society in Scroll Twelve is critical: the expression of everyday life is juxtaposed to the imperial canon along the Central Axis; Dashilar embodies a different existential order that is coextensive and necessary to the would-be ideological fixity.

Let us now take a close look at how urban society is depicted in Scroll Twelve. First, the urban society appears in the prefatory text of Scroll Twelve (Plate 13). In this preface, the axial way between the Yongding Gate (*Yongdingmen* 永定门) and Meridian Gate (*Wumen* 午门) is described as a space where the emperor's movement engaged with the inhabitants of the capital and the officials and officers:

> [T]he emperor and his retinue travelled from the Yongding Gate to the Meridian Gate; the inhabitants of the capital, old and young alike, filled the road singing and dancing; [and] the numerous officials and multitude officers all were arrayed to welcome the emperor.[32]

This description consists of three sentences, portraying the three groups – the emperor and his retinue, the inhabitants in the capital, and the officials and officers – as meeting each other on the broad axial way and together turning it into a vibrant space.

The painting, however, depicts nothing of this sort: it juxtaposes the three groups along the Central Axis in three separated spheres. Emperor Kangxi and the bulk of his retinue appear in front of the Zhengyang Gate, the main entrance of the Inner City. Inhabitants are drawn in the relatively uninhabited section of the Outer City near the Temple of Heaven (*Tiantan* 天坛). The officials and officers are shown in front of the Forbidden City, between the Upright Gate (*Duanmen* 端门) and Meridian Gate. By taking a closer look at the space of the Emperor, we can find a smaller group of inhabitants appearing

[32] The preface is translated by Hearn, but minor amendments have been made to match the original structure. Ibid., 166.

in Dashilar, strikingly close to the Emperor's sedan chair despite being kept away from the Central Axis (Plate 14).

As for the first group at the rear end of the Central Axis, it consists of all categories of inhabitants in the capital, including literati (*shi* 士), peasants (*nong* 农), artisans (*gong* 工), and merchants (*shang* 商). Their congregation forms four characters which read "*tian zi wan nian* 天子万年" (Son of Heaven, Ten-thousand Years) respectively (Plate 14). Hearn has provided a careful description of this rebus-like congregation as a congratulatory wish offered to Emperor Kangxi:

> The individual characters are made up of a wide cross-section of male citizens mixed together with auspicious symbols. The *tian* (heaven) character is formed almost entirely of white-bearded old men and young boys. The *zi* (son) character shows farmers carrying baskets filled with rice and pushing a wheelbarrow loaded with sacks of grain. The character *wan* (ten-thousand) is the most complex of the four graphs. The bundles of bamboo and long wooden poles carried by some figures evoke the tapered or attenuated starting, finishing, and connecting strokes of the character. A vendor pushing a cart with steamed rice wrapped in leaves (*zongzi* 粽子), two men carrying bonsai (*penjing* 盆景), or transporting jars of wine on a wheel barrow also compose components of the graph. The final *nian* (years) character includes not only men transporting flowering trees and a vendor with an elaborate lamp suspended over his cart but two spotted deer.[33]

As for the inhabitants in Dashilar, they are quite aware of the emperor's passage. Around the entrance to the Jewellery Market Street where the emperor has just passed by, a group of curious inhabitants are attempting to step into the shuttered avenue while beadles brandish whips to direct them to move back (Plate 14). Towards the rear of the procession, however, people have begun to "open their doors, peek out of windows, and a few have even stepped into the avenue" [34] (Plate 14).

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[33] Ibid., 170–171.

[34] Ibid., 169.

Through these details, we can first notice that urban society is not simply conforming to or resisting the imperial ideology. As shown by the details of Dashilar, the inhabitants therein are fully aware that the strict security precautions along the Central Axis are only provisional, and some of them have started to assert their rights to the avenue as an everyday space. As for the congregations that appear behind the emperor's procession along the Central Axis, the inhabitants whose congregations from the last three ideographs are moving in both directions and all occupied in everyday practices. While their movements incidentally form the congratulatory message offered to the emperor, they are also celebrating everyday life after the emperor's passage.

Based on this observation, we can then recognise the three groups in the separated spheres along the Central Axis as a *paradigmatic* format presenting the co-existent and interdependent subjectivities: this specific format echoes the socio-political reality during the first three decades of Kangxi's reign. Emperor Kangxi started his reign in 1662 as the second Manchu ruler to govern the Ming capital of Beijing. From 1662 to 1683, Kangxi spent more than two decades in navigating his authority over a newly conquered empire. To suppress the Three Feudatories Rebellion and to overcome the powerful Manchu and northern Chinese factions, he innovatively involved literati from southern China in central politics.[35] As soon as he began to rule as a potent political figure in his own right, Kangxi embarked on his first inspection tour to the south in 1684, which was followed by another five southern tours, in 1689, 1699, 1703, 1705, and 1707.[36] The first two tours, in particular, allowed Kangxi to communicate his innovative government outside the circumscribed political sphere of the capital and to better consolidate different interests in Qing politics.

[35] Harold Lyman Miller, "Factional Conflict and the Integration of Ch'ing Politics, 1661–1690" (PhD diss., George Washington University, 1974).

[36] Hearn, "Art Creates History," 130.

To this extent, the emperor, the central bureaucracy, and the southern literati who usually dwelt in the western Outer City acted as three interdependent forces in Qing politics. Echoing this socio-political reality, the juxtaposition of the literati in the congregations of inhabitants to the emperor and the central bureaucracy along the Central Axis is necessary and reveals a sense of interdependence rather than conformity.

This *paradigmatic* format of the Central Axis further allows us to read the rebus-like congregations of inhabitants at the rear end of the Central Axis as a representation of Dashilar, evidencing an existential order of everyday life. The formation of Dashilar, alike that of those congregations, is contingent upon the everyday practices of inhabitants from all walks of life. It is these everyday practices that make Dashilar develop into a coalition of *heterotopias*. To this extent, the specific format of the congregations in Scroll Twelve has been deactivated from the very context of the emperor's return and informs us of a possible way to grasp the operational complexity of Dashilar.

Through a set of *paradigmatic* details, I have shown that the presence of Dashilar in Scroll Twelve is critical: Dashilar as an existential order of everyday life can be evidenced in this Scroll; such order was once viewed as a necessary, and impossible to overlook, co-existent partner of the would-be ideological fixity and centrality of imperial performativity.[37] Following this

[37] This specific pattern of presenting Dashilar alongside the Central Axis of Beijing in the same scroll was not inherited by a latter version *The Qianlong Southern Inspection Tour* 乾隆南巡图, which is accomplished seventy-five years later, in 1770. Following the example of his grandfather Kangxi, the Qianlong Emperor also undertook six southern inspection tours during his reign and commissioned court artist Xu Yang 徐扬 to direct the production of a set of twelve scrolls to document his journey in 1751. The last scroll of *The Qianlong Southern Inspection Tour* also illustrates the emperor's return. This scroll covers a much smaller portion of the Central Axis than the earlier version: Qianlong and his central bureaucracy are presented in the same space between the Upright Gate and Meridian Gate, while the urban society is entirely outside the scope of this narrative. However, this later version still shows an awareness of Dashilar as a co-existent partner of the ideological fixity. Instead of presenting Dashilar alongside the Central Axis in the same scroll, it innovatively focuses on Dashilar and the urban society of Beijing in the first scroll, in which Beijing as the main setting is less portrayed as a metaphysical diagram. Wang Hongjun 王宏钧, ed., *Qianlong nanxun tu yanjiu*

tradition illustrated by Scroll Twelve, we need to see Dashilar as an urban paradigm co-existent with the Imperial Urban Planning of Beijing.

Not only that; we are also required to explore an ontologically framed apparatus in order to better grasp Dashilar. Similar to the many incidental congregations of inhabitants that can inform a larger coalition, we can explore Dashilar as a long-practised coalition of numerous interrelated and strange places of specific but diverse practices. Learning from this historical representation and analysing Dashilar as an ontologically framed apparatus, we will be able to organise the collection of existent descriptions of Dashilar in a way that can provide "potentially projective modalities" [38] for our contemporary urban practices.

乾隆南巡图研究 [Research on *The Qianlong Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour*] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2010).

[38] Sarah Whiting, "Critical Reflections," 88.

Chapter Three
Teacup

From its emergence up to the Republican era, Dashilar was always a place where diversity came out in an ordered but sophisticated way. On the one hand, people from all walks of life met and mingled with each other in Dashilar. The mingling of the officials, scholars, entrepreneurs, craftsmen, opera troupes and prostitutes nurtured Dashilar's diverse and distinctive commercial and entertainment activities; and these activities attracted both the aristocrats residing in the Inner City and all the commoners from the Outer City to frequent Dashilar. On the other hand, different social classes interacted in a highly ordered, sometimes even segregated manner in Dashilar. Almost all industries and infrastructures in Dashilar mastered these subtleties through their organisations, catering to the different demands of consumers without challenging the rigidly stratified social structure.

In this chapter, I will look into the sophistication of organisations in Dashilar by focusing on one *thing*: the blue-and-white teacup, white porcelain cups decorated under the glaze with a blue pigment. Tea drinking began to enjoy high popularity among all social classes in Beijing from the times of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The tastes of tea allowed the residents of Beijing to be more aware of the varying qualities of water from the many different wells in the city and characterise the best available well-water as "sweet." At the same time, the new infusion method made the tea clear. As white porcelain, which allowed the colour of tea to be observed most efficiently, began to be the desired feature of quality cups, the blue-and-white teacups gradually became a prevalent form in Beijing's market. To this extent, both the refined sweetness of well-water and the blue-and-white teacup made the practice of tea drinking cater to superior wants rather than basic needs.

The blue-and-white teacup further developed into an embodiment of refined sweetness in the mid-seventeenth century when well-water was turned into a marketable commodity by the Water Houses of the early Qing dynasty (1644–1911). According to the taste of the water, the Water Houses categorised the wells as bitter, bland, and sweet, charging a different price for each category. Although sweet well-water was the most expensive, the blue-and-white teacup anchored sweetness as the principle of tea drinking and made many households persist in purchasing sweet well-water despite its high price.

By emphasising tea drinking as a pursuit of refined tastes, the blue-and-white teacup embodies the agency of sweetness as a means of expression and exchange of superior wants. This agency has allowed the blue-and-white teacup to act as a constitutive impulse in the formation of Dashilar. In this chapter, I will show how this specific form of teacups has constituted the sophisticated organisations of the commercial playhouses in Dashilar and that of the modern water supply system in Beijing.

First, I see the commercial playhouses that were clustered almost exclusively in Dashilar as a new kind of institution that came of age during the eighteenth century. As the Qing court strictly limited the construction of commercial and entertainment establishments in the Inner City and publicly discouraged high officials and bannermen from indulging in household troupes, commercial playhouses emerged in Dashilar to meet the increasing demands for less ostentatious sources of entertainment. To legitimate the visits of the officials and bannermen, instead of selling tickets to the performed opera, the playhouses sold tea as the only commodity. Thus, the blue-and-white teacup became a key instrument in the management of the playhouse. Serving as ticket stubs, the teacups allowed the daily sales to be claimed and divided among the three parties that provided the essentials for a playhouse: the proprietor offering the house, the opera troupe performing the opera show, and a group of table-tenders looking after the audiences.

At the same time, the blue-and-white teacup as an embodiment of refined sweetness induced both the audiences and the actors in the playhouse to recognise their superior wants. As actors and vendors were allowed to look after the audiences on their own, the playhouse developed into a marketplace where varying demands were discovered and met. As the proprietor of the playhouse charged different prices to different social classes through a segregated seating arrangement, those varying demands would also be incorporated into a socio-economic hierarchy. Especially, the audiences in the playhouses were stimulated to fulfil their superior wants in tea drinking. Thus, varying forms of teacup began to appear in the playhouse and formed an expressive order of desires. This teacup-based order constantly assisted the social exchange within the playhouse. Although teacups no longer acted as a key instrument in the management of playhouses since the early twentieth century, both the audiences and the actors used their teacups as an important vehicle to navigate their statuses in new contexts.

In this historical reconstruction of the commercial playhouses in Dashilar, we can see that the teacup nurtured diverse desires in the playhouse and the segregated seating arrangement incorporated those heterogeneous desires into a hierarchical order. The teacup and the seating arrangement as two organising forces made the playhouses *heterotopias* where different desires were tolerated and exchanged with one another. Considering the playhouses as such *heterotopias*, we can better grasp their importance to the unique commercial character of Dashilar.

Second, I investigate how the agency of refined sweetness embodied by the blue-and-white teacup modified the modernisation of the water supply system in Beijing. After the Water Houses had monopolised the water market in Beijing for centuries, the Qing Court decided to establish a water plant for the city in 1908 and the new system was put into use in 1910. Sensible to the agency of refined sweetness, the Water Company strove to justify the higher price of

running water by redefining the notion of sweetness as a necessity concerning hygiene.

However, the residents in Beijing still used their teacups to examine the quality of water. As the teacups in superior forms anchored the principle of sweetness as catering to superior wants rather than basic needs, the residents requested that running water be provided with greater flexibility. Responding to this request, the Water Company abandoned the plan of distributing public taps according to a measurement of the actual uses in different areas of the city. Instead, the Company initiated a delivery system catering to the dynamic of demands for refined sweetness. Through this analysis, we can grasp the *heterotopic* characters of the modern water supply system in Beijing as a response to the agency of refined sweetness embodied by the blue-and-white teacup.

In the following sections, I will first explain how the blue-and-white teacup became an embodiment of the agency of refined sweetness. Then, I will look into how the blue-and-white teacup became a key instrument in the management of the commercial playhouses in Dashilar and made teacups constitute the unique and sophisticated orders of playhouses that facilitated social exchange. Finally, I will demonstrate how the teacups in superior forms nurtured the formal complexity of the modern water system in Beijing. Through these historical reconstructions, we will be able to understand the blue-and-white teacup as an everyday *thing* that played a constitutive role in forming the sophisticated organisations in Dashilar.

3.1 Blue-and-White Teacups Embodied the Agency of Refined Sweetness

The early Ming witnessed a significant transformation in tea production: the court's newly issued decree whereby only loose-leaf tea would be accepted as a tribute led to significant developments in the processing techniques of tea

and a dramatic increase in its production.[1] The increase in production lowered the price of tea, making tea drinking much more affordable. Not only that; the infusion of whole-leaf tea was much easier to operate than the previously prevalent method which required sophisticated treatments of the tea brick.[2] These developments therefore made tea drinking highly popular among all the social classes in Beijing from the Ming dynasty onwards.

Against this background of the increasing popularity of tea drinking in Ming Beijing, both the blue-and-white teacup and sweet well-water became desirable for the practice of tea drinking in pursuit of refined tastes. In one aspect, the blue-and-white teacup gradually became a prevalent form in Beijing's market during the Ming dynasty. Because of the newly popularised whole-leaf infusion method, the colour of tea turned out to be light and clear. As observing the colour of tea was a custom within the practice of refined tea drinking, white porcelain, which allowed the colour to be observed most efficiently, began to be the desired feature of quality cups (Plate 15).[3] After

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[1] Zhang Chuanzheng 章传政, "Mingdai chaye keji, maoyi, wenhua yanjiu" 明代茶叶科技、贸易、文化研究 [Research on Tea Science and Technology, Trade and Culture in Ming Dynasty] (PhD diss., Nanjing Agricultural University, 2007), 78–79. Wei Zhijing 魏志静, "Mingdai chafa yanjiu" 明代茶法研究 [The Study of the Monopoly System of Tea in Ming Dynasty] (PhD diss., China University of Political Science and Law, 2007), 44–45.

[2] Shen Defu 沈德符 (1578–1642) noted in his *Wanli yehuo bian* 万历野获编 (Unofficial Records of Wanli Period): "The greatest refinement and conciseness of tea drinking is only achieved recently, being careful about the time of preparing and cooking, using the whole-leaf tea to avoid the hard work of crushing, and allowing the true savour to completely release; this [method] only begin to popularise from this dynasty, although it was already invented in the Song times." Shen Defu 沈德符, *Wanli yehuo bian* 万历野获编(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), vol. 3, 850. The Song method of cooking tea is best recorded in Cai Xiang 蔡襄's *Cha lu* 茶录 (The Record of Tea) and Zhao Ji 赵佶's *Daguan chalun* 大观茶论 (Treatise on Tea). The simplified method of infusing tea is widely discussed in tea books of Ming times, including, for example, Gu Yuanqing 顾元庆's *Cha pu* 茶谱 (Classification of Tea), Tu Long 屠隆's *Kaopan yushi* 考槃余事 (Desultory Remarks on Furnishing the Abode of the Retired Scholar), Zhang Yuan 张源's *Cha lu* 茶录 (Tea Record), and Xu Cishu 许次纾's *Cha shu* 茶疏 (Tea Commentary).

[3] The earliest suggestion of the use of white porcelain teacups appeared in Zhu Quan 朱权's *Chapu* 茶谱 (Tea Manual) written in 1440. This was then repeatedly mentioned by Tu Long 屠隆, Zhang Yuan 张源, Xu Cishu 许次纾, Zhang Chou 张丑 and many other writers of tea books in Ming times. Cai Dingyi 蔡定益, "Mingdai chashu yanjiu" 明代茶书研究 [Studies on the Tea Books of Ming Dynasty] (PhD diss., Anhui University, 2016), 105–108.

plain white porcelain and white porcelain with carved or printed pattern had prevailed in the market for a few decades, blue-and-white porcelain went into mass production with the emergence of locally-produced cobalt pigment.[4] As the Ming court issued an edict in 1393 to prohibit the use of utensils made of silver or tin among low officials and commoners, the blue-and-white porcelain as a more ostentatious form began to enjoy popularity in civic use and gradually became prevalent in Beijing's market.[5]

Besides the tea sets, the custom of refined tea drinking in Ming times also emphasised the quality of water.[6] The available water in Beijing, however, was of varying quality and often tasted relatively less palatable. In the Ming times, people in Beijing were free to draw water from any public source. Without much rain or abundant surface water, the water supply in Beijing was highly reliant on wells.[7] According to the record in 1572, every 500 metres there would be

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[4] According to the local chorography of Fuliang 浮梁, where the Yuan dynasty set up the royal kilns, because of the Red Turban Rebellion, both the techniques and the materials of producing blue-and-white porcelain were diffused into commercial kilns in the 1360s. That said, the production of blue-and-white porcelain in the commercial kilns remained low until at least the 1390s for not meeting the literati's aesthetic as well as the shortage of cobalt. The earliest blue-and-white porcelain produced by commercial kilns were made between the late Hongwu reign (1368-1398) to the Xuande reign (1426-1435). These blue-and-white porcelains for civic use were made of inferior clay and domestically produced cobalt and, therefore, were much cheaper than those produced by the royal/imperial kilns. The increasing production of the blue-and-white porcelain in commercial kilns can be evidenced by a succession of edicts banning the production of coloured ceramics during the Zhengtong reign (1436-1449). Huang Yunpeng 黄云鹏, "Mingdai minjian Qinghuaci de duandai" 明代民间青花瓷的断代 [Periodisation of the Blue-and-White Porcelain in Civil Use in Ming Dynasty], *Jingdezhen taoci* 景德镇陶瓷 [Jingdezhen Ceramics], no. 3 (1986): 29–31; Yew Seng Tai, "Ming Gap and the Revival of Commercial Production of Blue and White Porcelain in China," *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association*, vol. 31 (2011): 85-92.

[5] Huang, "Mingdai minjian Qinghuaci de duandai," 30; Chen Zhijun 陈志钧, "Wan Ming Jingdezhen Minyao Qinghuaci zai Beijing shichang de diwei" 晚明景德镇民窑青花瓷在北京市场的地位 [The Position of the Blue-and-White Porcelain Made by Jingdezhen's Commercial Kilns in the Market of Beijing during the Late Ming], *Jingdezhen taoci* 景德镇陶瓷 [Jingdezhen Ceramics], no. 3 (1986): 70–71.

[6] Most of the tea books of the Ming dynasty discussed the importance of water for tea drinking. There also emerged some tea books that specialised in water selection, including, for example, Tian Yibo 田艺蓥's *Zhuquan xiaopin* 煮泉小品, Xu Xianzhong 徐献忠's *Shui pin* 水品, and Long Yong 龙膺's *Meng shi* 蒙史. Cai, "Mingdai chashu yanjiu," 80–92.

[7] Hou Renzhi 侯仁之, "Beijing dushi fazhan guocheng zhong de shuiyuan wenti" 北京都市发展过程中的水源问题 [The Issue of Water Resource in the Urban Development of Beijing],

one public well, serving dozens or even hundreds of households.[8] Because geological conditions vary in different parts of the city, the quality of water differs from one well to another. As the depth of the wells was restricted by digging techniques, the water from most of the wells contained impurities and therefore tasted bitter.[9] The increasing popularity of tea drinking made the residents more aware of the different qualities of water from the many different wells in the city. As a result, those who pursued the refined taste of tea were driven to seek and record the best available water in Beijing.[10]

In these records of quality water in Beijing, the best available well-water was characterised as "sweet." An example can be found in Xue Gang 薛岡's *Tianjue tang ji* 天爵堂集: "Inside the Xuanwu Gate 宣武门 and to its northwest within three li (about one and a half kilometres), [there is a well] called Sha Wo 沙窝. Its water is sweet and clear and no well in the city is comparable to it."[11] The Ming official Zhu Guozhen 朱国祯 (1558–1628) can provide us with another example:

Journal of Peking University, no. 1 (1955): 139–165. Cai Fan 蔡蕃, *Beijing gu yunhe yu chengshi gongshui yanjiu* 北京古运河与城市供水研究 [A Study on Beijing Ancient Canal and Water Supply] (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1987), 173–186. Chiu Chung-lin 邱仲麟, "Shui wozi: Beijing de gongshuiyezhe yu minsheng yongshui (1368–1937)" 水窝子：北京的供水业者与民生用水 (1368–1937) [Shui wozi: The Practitioners of Beijing's Water Supply and Domestic Water Consumption (1368–1937)], in *Zhongguo de chengshi shenghuo* 中国的城市生活 [Chinese Urban Life], ed. Li Xiaoti 李孝悌 (Beijing: Xinxing chubanshe, 2006), 206–207.

[8] Zheng Mingxuan 郑明选, *Zheng Housheng ji* 郑侯升集 (vol. 21), in *Siku jinhuishu congkan* 四库禁毁书丛刊, *jibu* 集部, no. 75 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), 5a.

[9] Zhu Yixin quoted Xu Chong 徐充's note in *Nuanshu youbi* 暖妹由筆 (1606): "The well water in the capital mostly tastes salty and bitter, and was therefore not suitable for drinking." Zhu Yixin 朱一新, *Jingshi fangxiang zhigao* 京师坊巷志稿 [Record of Beijing's Local Neighbourhoods] (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe dianjiao ben, 1982), vol. 1, 55.

[10] Examples of the record of sweet water in Beijing include, for example, Xu Chong 徐充's note in *Nuanshu youbi* 暖妹由筆 (1606): "The well in the Household Administration of the Heir Apparent has the best taste and many people draw water from it." Zhu, *Jingshi fangxiang zhigao*, vol. 1, 55.

[11] Xue Gang 薛岡, *Tianjue tang ji* 天爵堂集, in *Siku weishou shuji kan* 四库未收书辑刊 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1997), vol. 6, no. 25, 12a.

> In the three years that I live in the capital, I often draw water outside the Desheng Gate 德胜门, because its quality is the best for cooking tea. People neither know this nor believe me when I tell them. The wells in the imperial palace for the use of the royal family are filled by the same stream. It is indeed of the best quality in the country even though it has not been recorded by Lu Yu [in his Classic of Tea]. The sweet water commonly consumed in the capital is all from the wells located in the northwest. I believe these wells are also filled by this stream, but [their water qualities] are not comparable to this stream.[12]

After the blue-and-white teacup and sweet well-water made the practice of tea drinking cater to superior wants rather than basic needs during the Ming dynasty, the blue-and-white teacup further developed into an embodiment of refined sweetness from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. To understand this, we need to examine if the blue-and-white teacup continued to be a superior form facilitating tea drinking to be a pursuit of refined tastes during the Qing era (1644–1911). Not only that; we also need to look into the changes in domestic water supply in Beijing which occurred in the early Qing dynasty.

After the Qing army took over Beijing in 1644, the urban life of the city experienced significant changes. Tea drinking, however, remained popular among all social classes in Beijing. As depicted in the woodblock prints of *Wanshou shengdian chuji* 万寿盛典初集 (Grand Ceremony Celebrating the Emperor Kangxi's Birthday, Premier Compilation, 1717) and *Baxun wanshou shengdian* 八旬万寿盛典 (Grand Ceremony Celebrating Emperor Qianlong's Eightieth Birthday, 1792), teapots and teacups were ubiquitous in everyday life in Beijing: tea was always prepared at home, peddled on the street, and

[12] Zhu Guozhen 朱国祯, "Pin shui 品水" [Tasting the Water], in *Yongchuang xiaopin* 涌幢小品 (vol. 15), accessed November 11, 2019, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=855607&remap=gb.

enjoyed as part of leisure activities (Plate 16).[13] The Korean envoys who visited Beijing during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also noticed that the teapots were commonly placed on the stove and tea was always ready for the host to treat himself with and to serve to his guests.[14]

At the same time, porcelain teacups ornamented with painted patterns were commonly used in daily life. The prevalence of painted porcelain in everyday life impressed the Korean envoys who visited Beijing during the Qing era.[15] For example, Pak Sa-ho 朴思浩 described a scene of gathering in *Yanji ji cheng* 燕蓟纪程 (Records of Trips to Beijing) and underlined that everyone was using a painted porcelain teacup.[16] In his *Yanxing lu* 燕行录 (Travelogue to Beijing), Kim Chŏngjung 金正中 also recorded his experience of buying a painted porcelain teacup from the market at Longfu Temple 隆福寺.[17] The prevalent painted porcelain teacups permitted the practice of tea drinking to fulfil people's aesthetic needs. Although technological developments allowed new forms with multicoloured decoration to emerge, the blue-and-white

[13] *Wanshou shengdian chuji* and *Baxun wanshou shengdian* are two sets of woodblock prints depicting the birthday scenes of Emperor Kangxi in 1713 and that of Emperor Qianlong in 1790, respectively. The boisterous scenes are along the streets from the Forbidden City to the Old Summer Palace. Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 et al., eds, Wanshou shengdian chuji 万寿盛典初集 [Grand Ceremony Celebrating the Emperor's Birthday, Premier Compilation] (1717), vol. 41–42. Janggiya Agui 章佳·阿桂 et al., *Baxun wanshou shengdian* 八旬万寿盛典 [Grand Ceremony Celebrating the Emperor's Eightieth Birthday] (1792), vol. 77–78.

[14] Li Xingzhe 李幸哲 has researched the tea-related affairs recorded in the Korean envoys' journey notes. Li finds that many of the notes mentioned the custom of tea drinking in everyday life. For example, in his *Yanxing riji* 燕行日记, Kim Ch'ang-ŏp 金昌业 has given a detailed description: "Guests have to be served with tea. […] Everyone has his own cup. He drinks as he pours and pours as he wishes, so that the tea is always hot. […] Not only serving the guests, tea is a staple every day." Li Xingzhe 李幸哲, "Chaoxian Shixinglu yu zhongguo cha" 朝鲜使行录与中国茶 [China Tea Affairs Recorded in the Korean Envoy Journey Notes] (PhD diss., Zhejiang University, 2012), 136–137.

[15] As Li Xingzhe 李幸哲 summarised, Kim Ch'ang-ŏp 金昌业 (1712), Yi Ŭi-hyŏn 李宜显 (1720), Kim Kyŏngsŏn 金景善 (1832) have all recorded that porcelain was commonly used in daily life and painted porcelain was the most prevalent. Li, "Chaoxian Shixinglu yu zhongguo cha," 138.

[16] Ibid., 138.

[17] Ibid., 138.

porcelain teacup remained a superior and prevalent form in Beijing's market (Plate 17).[18]

Despite the constant popularity of tea drinking and the blue-and-white teacup, significant changes occurred in the water supply system in Beijing. The banner armies were assigned to guard and live near the eight gates of the Inner City; occupying the wells within their assigned precincts they authorised their cooks to maintain the wells. Being aware of the potential economic benefit that this brought, these authorised well-keepers began to sell water to the residents who were deprived of their free access to the wells, gradually monopolising the domestic water supply by setting up exclusive territories of service.[19] This new water supply pattern spread from the peripheral troops to the entire Inner City and further influenced the Outer City.[20] According to the record by Tan Qian 谈迁 (1594–1658), the appearance of such a pattern had become

[18] According to the official records of the porcelain produced by Jingdezhen for the imperial courts on an annual basis, the cost of producing blue-and-white porcelain in Qing dynasty became much lower than that of the Ming dynasty. As there was a positive correlation between the cost of imperial porcelains and the price of commercial porcelains, the blue-and-white teacup should be more commonly possessed in Beijing during the Qing dynasty. Liang Miaotai 梁淼泰, "Qingdai Jingdezhen Dayunciqi de mingshu" 清代景德镇大运瓷器的名数 [The Appellations and Numbers of Imperial Porcelain Produced by Jingdezhen in the Qing Dynasty], *Journal of Nanchang University*, no. 2 (2002): 76–85.

[19] Xu Guoshu 徐国枢, "Danshuifu yange kao" 担水夫沿革考 [A Textual Study on the History of Water Carrier], in *Beijing fengsu zayong xubian* 北京风俗杂咏续编, ed. Lei Mengshui 雷梦水 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1987), 236. See also Guo Hongxiao 果鸿孝, "Yinshui he paishui" 饮水与排水 [Water Supply and Drainage], in *Xiri Beijing daguan* 昔日北京大观 [Anecdotes of Old Beijing] (Beijing: Beijing jiancai gongye chubanshe, 1992), 78.

[20] Chiu, "Shui wozi," 222. Despite the public wells being shortly turned into Water Houses, the Qing Court constantly banned them from monopolising the water market. The official prohibition of 1770 offered a description of how Water Houses dominated the domestic water supply in Beijing: "The households in the capital with demand for drinkable water were all divided into groups of more than a dozen by Water Houses. The households to be supplied by a certain Water House can be inherited or sold. If the households look for other resources or argue over the price, the Water House would deliberately make things difficult for them and prevent them from turning to other Water Houses. It is really an unfavourable convention inherited from the past." Asin Gioro Kungang 爱新觉罗·昆岗, ed, *Qinding daqing huidian shili* 钦定大清会典事例 (1886), vol. 302, 64, accessed November 11, 2019, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=821728&remap=gb.

regularised in the city when he visited Beijing between 1653 and 1656 (Plate 18).[21]

When the public wells in Beijing were occupied, they were turned into commercial Water Houses and well-water began to be clearly graded according to its different tastes. By categorising the wells into Bitter Wells, Bland Wells, and Sweet Wells, Water Houses charged different prices for water from the wells in different categories, with sweet water usually costing twice as much as bitter water.[22] This difference in price between sweet and bitter water was especially significant in the context of life at that time, because water was expensive and amounted to a big share of the cost of living.[23]

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[21] The historian Tan Qian wrote during his stay in Beijing between 1653 and 1656: "On the streets of the capital, the well-drawers sell water from their carts, while [their customers] cannot get water from different well-drawers at will." Tan Qian 谈迁, "Gan shui" 甘水 [Sweet Water], in *Beiyou lu* 北游录 [Records of the Journey to the North], accessed November 11, 2019, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=911394&remap=gb.

[22] According to the *Shen Bao* 申报 (Shanghai News), the Water Houses in Beijing charged 80 *wen* for each *dan* 担 (two buckets) of sweet water and 40 *wen* for bitter water in 1875. "Jingdu shuigui" 京都水贵 [Expensive Water in Beijing], *Shen Bao*, July 12, 1875. The *Shen Bao* was a newspaper founded by the British businessman Ernest Major and published between 1872 and 1949 in Shanghai, China. It was particularly interested in reporting on the water supply system in Beijing during the 1870s–80s, because the attempt to establish modern waterworks started in Shanghai in 1875. In 1880, the Shanghai Waterworks Co. Ltd was founded in London. Julean H Arnold, *Commercial Handbook of China* (New York: Garland, 1979), vol. 1, 264. In 1883, the first waterworks built in China began to operate in Shanghai. Xing Jianrong 邢建榕, "Shui, Mei, Dian: Jindai Shanghai gongyong shiye yanjin ji huayang butong xintai" 水煤电：近代上海公用事业演进及华洋不同心态 [Water, Electricity and Gas: The Evolution of the Public Utilities in Modern Shanghai and Different Psychologies Between Chinese and Foreigners], *Shixue yuekan* 史学月刊, no. 4 (2004): 96.

[23] According to Chiu Chung-lin, there are many Qing accounts that complain about the high price of water in Beijing. Chiu, "Shui wozi," 229–233. The high price of water mainly resulted from the Water Houses' manipulation of the water market. The Water Houses that sold water in the same category usually had a competitive relationship, but they always negotiated clear territories of service to avoid disputes. To this extent, Water Houses viewed the households to be supplied as their essential asset, which they made inheritable and exchangeable. Xiong Yuanbao, "The Water Supply Business and 'Waterways' in Beijing, 1644–1949," *Socio-Economic History* 66, no. 2 (2000): 171–191. Xiong Yuanbao 熊远报, "Beijing 'shui wenshu' yu qingdai minguo shiqi beijing de shenghuo yongshui maimai quanli" 北京"水文书"与清代民国时期北京的生活用水买卖权利 [The "Water Documents" and the Right to Exchange Water for Domestic Use in Qing and Republican Beijing], in *Minjian wenxian yu zhongguo diyu yanjiu* 民间文献与中国地域研究 [Folk Literature and Chinese Regional Research], eds. Bian Li and Hu Zhongsheng (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2010), 305–312.

The high price of water made the residents of Beijing very careful with their purchases. Although sweet water was remarkably expensive, many households still persisted in purchasing it. Chu Weikai 褚维垲 (1815–1882) has written about the high price of sweet water and his habit of purchasing:

> The donkey cart carries water from southern Beijing. Well knowing the price, [I am] going to purchase from the street. Trying to be frugal, [I] always add [bitter] well water to it. [It finally] tastes slightly bitter but essentially sweet.[24]

Wang Shizhen 王士祯 (1634–1711)'s poem further reveals the motivation behind the purchase of sweet water:

> The geological conditions of Beijing bring little sweet water, the effort of cooking the shoots of *Guzhuchun* (a famous tea grown in Guzhu Mountain, Zhejiang Province) can thus be easily in vain. Only the stone-well at the Temple of Heaven provides good water, but one ladle would cost a fortune.[25]

As Wang's poem reveals, the habit of tea drinking in pursuit of refined tastes made many households persist in purchasing sweet well-water despite its high price. The association between tea drinking and sweet water was extremely strong in middle-class households, because they purchased water in all three categories and commonly used bitter water for washing, bland water for general cooking and drinking, and sweet water merely for cooking tea.[26] Sweetness, as the principle of tea drinking, was thus anchored in their teacups which facilitated the pursuit of refined tastes. The blue-and-white teacups, as

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[24] Chu Weikai 褚维垲, "Yanjing zayong" 燕京杂咏, in *Beijing fengsu zayong* 北京风俗杂咏, ed. Sun Dianqi 孙殿起, comp. Lei Mengshui 雷梦水 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1982), 52.

[25] Wang Shizhen 王士祯, "Dumen zhuzhici bashou" 都门竹枝词八首 [Eight Folk Songs About the Capital], in *Yuyang shiji* 渔洋诗集 (*Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四库全书存目丛书, *Ji bu* 集部, no. 226), vol. 4, 7.

[26] Chiu, "Shui wozi," 233-234. Jin Shoushen 金受申, "Beijing de shui" 北京的水, in *Lao Beijing de shenghuo* 老北京的生活 [The Life in Old Beijing] (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1989), 212. Cui Jinsheng 崔金生, "Xiri Beijing chishui nan" 昔日北京吃水难 [The Difficulties of Obtaining Drinking Water in Old Beijing], in *Chunming xujiu* 春明叙旧, ed. Hu Yuyuan 胡玉远 (Beijing: Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 1999), 181.

a superior form commonly possessed by middle-class households, became an embodiment of refined sweetness.

The agency of sweetness embodied by the blue-and-white teacup helped focus the expression and exchange of superior wants. In the following sections, I will focus on the commercial playhouses in Dashilar and the modernisation of Beijing's water supply system to elaborate how such agency has allowed the blue-and-white teacup to act as a constitutive impulse in the formation of the sophisticated organisations in Dashilar.

3.2 The Playhouse: The Teacup and Seating Arrangement as Two Organising Forces

Playhouses were privately run commercial establishments where opera performances were given in a fully enclosed and completely roofed structure. They were a significant component of Dashilar in a few senses: playhouses emerged and came of age in Beijing during the eighteenth century and were almost exclusively clustered in Dashilar (Plate 19); many scholars have argued that playhouses are in many important respects different from earlier forms of public theatre and, therefore, should be considered a new urban entity at that time;[27] they have also argued that playhouses served as social foci for interaction and negotiation among people of different social backgrounds in

[27] For example, Zhou Yibai 周贻白 indicates that commercial drama had been performed from at least the Tang dynasty (618–907), but the venues were either temporary or private. Zhou Yibai 周贻白, *Zhongguo juchang shi* 中国剧场史 [History of Chinese Theatre] (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933), 1–8. See also Joshua Goldstein, *Drama Kings: Players and Publics in the Re-creation of Peking Opera, 1870–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 60. Andrea S. Goldman has compared the playhouse with earlier theatres in several important respects: "Unlike the earliest urban theaters, the state-sponsored 'tent-arena' (*goulan*) theaters, which flourished circa 1050 to 1450, Qing-era playhouses were privately run commercial establishments. Unlike outdoor temple stages, which also emerged during the Northern Song (ca. eleventh century), the playhouse was a fully enclosed and (usually) completely roofed two-storied structure. Unlike either the temple or guildhall, which attracted audiences in part by spiritual, native-place, or occupational affinities, there was no identifiable marker of community to the playhouse audience." Andrea S. Goldman, *Opera and the City: The Politics of Culture in Beijing, 1770–1900* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 67.

mid to late Qing Beijing.[28] In this section, I will look into how the blue-and-white teacup was involved in the management of playhouses, and how it worked alongside the segregated seating arrangement to make the playhouses *heterotopias* where different desires were tolerated and exchanged with one another.

3.2.1 The Constant Presence of Teacups in the Playhouses

The teacup was an essential feature in the playhouse. Although often mentioned incidentally in Qing-era literature, a common experience of visiting the playhouse usually started with being seated and given a pot of tea with a teacup by the table-tenders.[29] According to Qi Rushan, drinking tea was a must for the audience in the playhouse during the Qing era, and there was a group of table-tenders who were dedicated to the job of serving tea in the playhouse.[30] The constant presence of the teacup in the playhouse is further evidenced in various volumes of Qing-era paintings of the playhouses in Beijing: in front of each audience member who had been seated there was always a blue-and-white teacup (Plate 20).[31]

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[28] Susan Naquin and Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Chinese Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 60–62, 147; Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 634–636; Zhu Jianfei, *Chinese Spatial Strategies: Imperial Beijing, 1420-1911* (London: Routledge, 2004), 78–79, 82–83; Goldman, *Opera and the City*, 67–87; Goldstein, *Drama Kings*, 57–62.

[29] For example, in *Pinhua baojian* (1849), especially in chapters one and three, where the way the table-tenders offered seats to the customers and served them tea is described as a routine. Chen Sen 陈森, *Pinhua* baojian 品花宝鉴 [Treasured Mirror for the Connoisseur of Flowers] (Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe, 2003), vol. 1, 19, 39.

[30] Qi Rushan 齐如山, "Xi guanzi" 戏馆子 [The Playhouse], in *Qi Rushan wenlun* 齐如山文论 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 2009), 28.

[31] In Liao Ben's *Zhongguo xiju tushi*, there is a collection of paintings that can illustrate the interior of the Qing-era playhouses. In this collection, one specifically depicts a scene of the playhouse in Beijing during the Guangxu era (1875–1908) and provides many details through the careful use of colour. In this painting, we can see that the blue-and-white teacup appears in front of each seated audience member in the playhouse. Liao Ben 廖奔, *Zhongguo xiju tushi* 中国戏剧图史 [Illustrated History of Chinese Drama] (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2000), 482–483.

To appreciate the constant presence of the blue-and-white teacup in the playhouse, we should first understand how the commercial playhouse came into being in Beijing during the eighteenth century. The emergence of the commercial playhouse was based on the particular politico-ethnic divisions introduced by the Qing state (1644–1912) in Beijing: while the Inner City was made into a city solely for the Manchu rulers, consisting of the imperial palace, the bureaucratic offices, and the living quarters of Banner populations;[32] the Outer City was made into a city inferior to and separated from the Inner City, where a predominantly Han Chinese population and other ethnic groups made their living.[33] To reinforce the boundary between the behaviour of government functionaries and that of commoners, the Qing court strictly limited the construction of commercial and entertainment establishments in the Inner City and publicly discouraged high officials and bannermen from indulging in household troupes.[34] In this context, the restaurants and wine houses in the Outer City began to offer opera shows as an additional attraction for those from the Inner City who increasingly demanded less ostentatious sources of entertainment. As the opera shows gained in popularity, they began to be performed independently of banquets in new venues.[35] This is how the playhouse came into being.

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[32] The Banners were administrative divisions of the Manchu households under the Qing dynasty and they functioned as armies in wartime.

[33] G. William Skinner, "Introduction: Urban Social Structure in Ch'ing China," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 521–553. Alison Dray-Novey, "Spatial Order and Police in Imperial Beijing," *Journal of Asian Studies* 52, no. 4 (1993): 890–894. Susan Naquin, *Peking*, 4–11. Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 98–105. Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, 65–66.

[34] The first edict that explicitly banned the construction of theatres in the Inner City was issued in 1671 by the Kangxi emperor. Similar edicts were promulgated in 1799, 1802, and 1811. Mackerras, *The Rise of the Peking Opera*, 211–218. Zhu, *Chinese Spatial Strategies*, 83. Goldstein, *Drama Kings*, 57–58. Goldman, *Opera and the City*, 71–76.

[35] Playhouses were described by commentators in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as "places where one went for the sole purpose of opera performance and where no meal was provided." Zhang Jiliang 张际亮, *Jintai canlei ji* 金台残泪记, in *Qingdai Yandu liyuan shiliao: zhengxu bian* 清代燕都梨园史料：正续编, ed. Zhang Cixi 张次溪 (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 1988), 248. Liao, *Zhongguo xiju tushi,* 476.

The playhouse created an audience community consisting of people from all walks of life. Despite the great diversity in their social and occupational backgrounds, the audiences could be roughly divided into two groups, and the teacup was considered essential by both of them. The elite patrons comprised the first audience group. According to a steady stream of edicts that forbade officials and bannermen from visiting the playhouses, we know that they constantly frequented them throughout the Qing era.[36] The regular presence of high officials can be further evidenced by the great number of red cushions that were provided only to the highest ranks in the bureaucratic system.[37] Catering to these most distinguished customers from the Inner City, the opera shows performed in the playhouse were often of extraordinary quality and therefore attracted the literati who had a constant interest in theatre. The strong lure of the commercial playhouses for the literati can be attested in their literary writings and the booming production of *huapu* 花谱, texts that evaluated the looks and talents of opera actors.[38]

For this group of elite audiences, tea was essential in their everyday life, their recreation and socialisation commonly taking place over a cup of tea. Therefore, the proprietors made tea the only, and obligatory, refreshment in the playhouse. By charging for tea rather than opera, the proprietors blurred the distinction between playhouses and the teahouses that were not devoted

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[36] Goldman, *Opera and the City*, 71–76; Goldstein, *Drama Kings*, 57–58; Colin Mackerras, *The Rise of the Peking Opera, 1770–1870: Social Aspects of the Theatre in Manchu China* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 211–217.

[37] Yang Maojian 杨懋建, *Menghua suobu* 梦华琐簿, in *Qingdai Yandu liyuan shiliao: zhengxu bian* 清代燕都梨园史料：正续编, 353–354.

[38] For example, Chen Sen revealed, through the mouth of the character Wei Pincai in the novel *Pinhua baojian*, the fact that the theatre in the capital was the foremost throughout the realm and attracted many educated audiences. Chen Sen 陈森, *Pinhua baojian* 品花宝鉴, vol. 1, 25. Another example could be the poem by Yang Cuiyan which described his experience of thinking of the various actors even from inside the exam cubicle. Yang Cuiyan, *Wei zhong huai zhu xiaoshi* 闱中怀诸小史, in *Qingdai Yandu liyuan shiliao: zhengxu bian* 清代燕都梨园史料：正续编, 269–270. The booming production of *huapu* was "a phenomenon almost exclusive to the capital; although the authors of such texts came from various locales throughout the empire; with few exceptions all *huapu* or *huapu*-like memoirs were about the actors and demimonde of Beijing." Goldman, *Opera and the City*, 17–22.

to the presentation of opera. This thus allowed officials and bannermen to cover up their visits.[39] Respecting the elite audiences' custom of tea drinking, the proprietors considered the blue-and-white teacup an appropriate form in the playhouse.

The patrons of playhouses, however, were not confined to officials, bannermen, and literati. According to nineteenth-century sources and Qi Rushan's estimate, most playhouses were capable of hosting from several hundred to over a thousand people.[40] Such large sizes drove the proprietors of playhouses to attract large and socially diverse audiences to fill their venues. There was then another group of audience in the playhouse who were lower in social status but shared an interest in watching opera performances. This group consisted of wealthy merchants who could afford to frequent the playhouse, along with other commoners who had a certain economic capacity to visit the playhouse as a luxurious enjoyment. This group was commonly described by the many *huapu* and literary works as lacking aesthetic sophistication.[41] Although they did not usually include the pursuit of refined tea drinking in their everyday life, they could well comprehend the constant presence of the blue-and-white teacup in the playhouse. Knowing its rank in the market, they would at least regard the cup as an important reference to the basic consumption level in the playhouse.

3.2.2 Teacups in the Playhouses' Management Machinery

Making tea the only obligatory commodity in the playhouse, the proprietors of playhouses involved the teacup in their management machinery. To appreciate the role of the teacup, we first need to understand the profit-making

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[39] Zhang, *Jintai canlei ji*, 248.

[40] Yang, *Menghua suobu*, 373. Shen Zongji 沈宗畸, *Xuannan lingmeng lu* 宣南零梦录, in *Qingdai Yandu liyuan shiliao: zhengxu bian* 清代燕都梨园史料：正续编, 805. Qi, "Xi guanzi," 18. Naquin, *Peking*, 635.

[41] Goldman, *Opera and the City*, 56–58.

model of those playhouses in Dashilar. Running a playhouse was a low-cost and high-profit business during the Qing era.[42] The daily expenditure of a playhouse was rather low, because the proprietor needed neither to make payment for the opera shows before they were performed, nor to pay wages to the cast of servers and vendors who looked after the audience in the playhouse. To make a profit, the proprietor simply allowed various professional opera troupes to rotate every three to four days in his playhouse, helped them to charge the audiences, and shared their gross takings after the performances.[43]

When charging the audiences, the proprietors used the architecture of their playhouses to demarcate different socio-economic levels, charging each level a different price.[44] Each playhouse was a storied building consisting of a thrust stage and seating sections on three sides on both the floor and balcony levels (Plates 21 and 22).[45] Located on the ground floor and directly in front of the stage, the cheapest "pond benches" (*chizi* 池子) accommodated the poorest fans, characterised by small traders and servants. The moderately priced "scattered seats" (*san zuo* 散座) were stools arranged around rectangular tables, located on the two sides of the hall directly underneath the balconies

[42] The playhouse business maintained a high profit margin because it was gradually monopolised by local bullies who used sabotage and extortion to prevent others from entering. Qi, "Xi guanzi," 42.

[43] According to Qi Rushan, the proprietor usually gave 70 percentage of the gross to the troupe that performed on that day. Qi, "Xi guanzi," 43.

[44] Zhang, *Jintai canlei ji*, 248; Yang, *Menghua suobu*, 353; Qi, "Xi guanzi," 21; Xue Linping 薛林平, "Shilun Beijing Qingdai xiyuan jianzhu yu wenhua" 试论北京清代戏园建筑与文化 [Playhouse Architecture and Culture in Beijing, Qing Dynasty], *Huazhong jianzhu* 华中建筑 [Huazhong Architect] 27 (2009): 139–140.

[45] In Plate 21, the translations of some of the spatial elements are different from those by Goldman. Goldman's "green room" and "costume room," which he understands as serving the troupes, are instead marked in Plate 21 as the "room for preparing tea" and "guest cloakroom," managed by the table-tenders; Goldman's "box office" and "ticket office" are instead marked in Plate 21 as the "outer-counter room" and "inner-counter room," occupied by the proprietor and the troupes, respectively, when they tallying up the gross. Goldman, *Opera and the City*, 19.

and on the stage-facing balcony.[46] The most distinguished patrons were seated in the "official boxes" (*guan xiang* 官廂) on the left and right side-facing balconies.[47] All the seats had to be allocated by the table-tenders and could not be changed once the performance had started.[48]

Teacups were instrumental in executing this profit-making model. The proprietor of a playhouse, although allowing a cast of table-tenders to serve the audience on their own terms, required them to give teacups to the customers once they were seated and to take their cash payment at the same time. The cups therefore became the physical evidence of whether a customer had paid for his particular seat. This allowed the proprietor to claim the daily sales from the table-tenders according to the numbers of teacups in different seating sections at the busiest time during the day.[49] These numbers were crucial also because they decided how the sales would be divided between the proprietor and the troupe. It is, then, not surprising that the teacups were repeatedly tallied up by all the three interested parties – the proprietor who offered the house, the troupe who performed the opera, and the cast of table-tenders who served the audiences – all with great caution.[50]

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[46] The scattered seats on the ground floor were to be sold separately, while those on the balcony were to be sold by the table. On the balcony, the price of scattered seats decreased with the distance from the stage.

[47] The side-facing balconies were separated by screens into three or four boxes on each side. The seats in the second box on the exit-door side were considered the best in the house. The price was seven times the rate of scattered seats.

[48] Zhang, *Jintai canlei ji*, 248.

[49] Audiences generally stopped coming once the "big set" (*dazhou* 大軸), the best of the shows on the day, was performed on the stage. The teacups were therefore to be counted just before the "big set" started. Although the table-tenders might have given out more teacups than they counted, the proprietor only checked against the sales according to the number at this particular moment of the day.

[50] The table-tenders in each seating section would first count the number of the teacups, and all the numbers would be reported to the director of the audience hall (*tangtou* 堂头) who was in charge of all the table-tenders. The director would inform the proprietor of the numbers after double-checking them. The proprietor, usually accompanied by a reliable assistant, would then check against the numbers of teacups himself. If the numbers were correct, he would list them on the paper. At the same time, the proprietor would invite the representative of the troupe to tally up the teacups separately. After the representative of the troupe had the teacups counted, he would then have the numbers checked against those listed on the paper by the proprietor

Although they served as a ticket stub in the management of playhouses, the teacup was a physical object that belonged to the everyday. While the proprietor and the table-tenders paid little attention to the texture of the teacup, the audiences could not neglect its details and simply regard it as a ticket. In the following section, I will explain how the teacup nurtured diverse desires in the playhouse, and how it—together with the segregated seating arrangement—made the playhouses *heterotopias* where different desires were tolerated and exchanged with one another.

3.2.3 Playhouses as *Heterotopias*: From the Machinery to a Sophisticated Order

As an embodiment of refined sweetness, the blue-and-white teacup always induced people who had the habit of refined tea drinking to recognise their superior wants. To this extent, the teacups in the playhouse stimulated those audiences to react to the identical quality of tea served by the table-tenders. As the playhouse did not monopolise the tea consumed therein, audiences began to fulfil their superior wants of tea drinking on their own. While some audiences brought their own tea and personal tea sets into the playhouse, restaurants often delivered tea to the patrons on the balcony. At the same time, table-tenders who lived on tips attempted to justify the quality of their service by refilling the teacups with hot-water in a timely manner. As "being hot" was a universal principle of the good experience of tea drinking, even those audiences who brought their own tea would prefer to stay in the good graces of the table-tenders to ensure frequent hot-water refills.[51]

As the superior wants in tea drinking were fulfilled, many other demands were stimulated in the playhouse. As both vendors and actors were allowed to look

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of the playhouse. If they reached an agreement, the sales would then be divided between the two interested parties. Qi, "Xi guanzi," 26–27.

[51] According to the custom of tea drinking in Beijing, tea had to be served hot and reheated after getting cold. Li, "Chaoxian Shixinglu yu zhongguo cha," 136.

after the audiences on their own, the playhouse gradually developed into a marketplace where varying demands were discovered and met. While an array of items including playbills, candied fruits, pumpkin seeds and curd became popular in the playhouse, there even emerged handicrafts peddled by opportunistic vendors to the audiences.[52] For example, *Pinhua baojian* 品花宝鉴 (Treasured Mirror for the Connoisseur of Flowers, 1849) describes in detail the scenario that a vendor of jade wares sought buyers in the playhouse and the audiences haggled over and evaluated the merchandise on their seats.[53] Meanwhile, actors were also engaged in salesmanship that extended beyond the stage. Not only did they address the audience directly on the stage, they also lived on offstage associations with wealthy patrons.[54]

Although the interior of a playhouse was like a raucous market, the segregated seating arrangement exacerbated consciousness of the distinctions between different social classes and, therefore, incorporated varying demands into the socio-economic hierarchy. In particular, the differences among the audience members were reflected in their diverse behaviours of tea drinking in the playhouse (Plate 23).

On the ground floor, the audiences in the "pond" were usually opera fans of lower socio-economic status. With limited economic capacities, they had little chance to develop a more sophisticated understanding of tea drinking and, therefore, would not be annoyed by the tea provided. To take full advantage of their payments, they were the most engaged audiences in the playhouse. Lined up along the long tables that were arrayed perpendicular to the stage, they always "stretched out their necks as if poised in readiness"[55] and enjoyed expressing their immediate feelings and judgements by cheering and

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[52] Qi, "Xi guanzi," 45–46.

[53] Chen, *Pinhua baojian*, vol. 1, 42–45.

[54] This can be well evidenced in *Pinhua baojian*.

[55] Yang, *Menghua suobu,* 353. The translation is by Andrea S. Goldman. Goldman, *Opera and the City*, 81.

shouting.[56] The scattered seats on the ground floor were often taken by scholars and students who occasionally diverted their money away from scholarship. Although they could appreciate the aesthetic sophistication of tea drinking, they did not insist on the quality of the given tea but would sip it when a familiar part of a show was performed on the stage.[57]

The most fashionable audiences were often seated on the balcony. Enjoying ostentatious consumption, they would bring their own tea sets. For example, as described in *Pinhua baojian*, the wealthy merchant Xi Shiyi 奚十一 brought with him a teapot made of tin and a *gaiwan* 盖碗, a superior form of teacup consisting of a cup, a lid, and a saucer, when he visited the playhouse.[58] As many of the wealthy audience members enjoyed visiting the playhouses after a banquet in a restaurant, most of the scattered seats on the balcony were contracted to the neighbouring restaurants, a unique phenomenon in Beijing's playhouses.[59] These audiences could also have their tea delivered from a neighbouring restaurant.[60]

Incorporated into the segregated seating arrangement, the diverse behaviours of tea drinking, together with the varying consumption habits of other commodities, formed a dynamic expressive order alluding to different socio-economic statuses which could facilitate the socio-cultural exchanges in the playhouse. To this extent, we can see the blue-and-white teacup and the segregated seating arrangement as two organising forces in the playhouse: while the teacup constantly nurtured diverse demands, the seating

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[56] Wu Changyuan 吴长元, *Yanlan xiaopu* 燕兰小谱, in *Qingdai Yandu Liyuan shiliao: zhengxu bian* 清代燕都梨园史料：正续编, 18.

[57] Chen, *Pinhua baojian,* vol. 1, 41.

[58] Ibid., 40.

[59] Qi Rushan 齐如山, "Xiyuan de fuye" 戏园的副业 [Subsidiary Businesses of Playhouse], in *Qushu liuhen* 麴觚留痕 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2016), 80.

[60] Although table-tenders no longer gave teacups to those audiences who brought their own tea sets or ordered their tea from a neighbouring restaurant, the role of the teacups as ticket stubs remained salient on the ground floor, especially in the crowded "pond."

arrangement incorporated those heterogeneous desires into a hierarchical order. Thus, the playhouse were *heterotopias* that incorporated otherness into their organisation.

The teacup remained a primary organising force in the playhouse, and assisted with the formation of a new social order in the changing context of the late Qing to the Republican era (1912–1949). From the early twentieth century, playhouses began to regard tea as an independent business alongside the opera shows. The teacup was thus no longer a key instrument of the management. Despite this change, tea drinking persisted in the playhouse and new practices around the teacup burst out both off and on the stage.

Off the stage, the habits of tea drinking continued to reflect the varying socio-economic statuses and helped the audience to better locate themselves in the social mixture. As the proprietors of playhouses were not interested in catering to the superior wants of tea drinking, they only offered the cheapest tea. Thus, those who bought tea from the table-tenders were usually the poorest audience members. However, those audiences who did not mind taking the trouble to make their own tea with personal tea sets were often thought to have the highest standard of living. Those wealthy but less patient audiences would order their tea from a neighbouring restaurant. The audiences who were tea experts but relatively less wealthy would purchase quality tea—which was usually better than that delivered from neighbouring restaurants—from tea peddlers. These two groups of audience members were considered to occupy an intermediate status.[61]

On the stage, the opera performers also used the teacup as an important vehicle to navigate their statuses in this changing context. From the last years of the Qing dynasty, the opera performers developed a new fashion of

[61] Qi, “Xiyuan de fuye,” 80–81.

yinchang 饮场 in Beijing's playhouses. *Yinchang* literally means to drink on the stage, referring to the behaviour of drinking tea by a performer in the middle of the opera show but independently of the plot, in order to loosen up the voice.[62] To ensure *yinchang* caused as little disruption as possible, opera performers had always drunk in a modest way. However, in the late nineteenth century, some famous actors began to make *yinchang* unprecedentedly performative by presenting their personal tea sets on the stage. For example, Liu Hongsheng 刘鸿昇 (1874–1921), one of the biggest box office attractions, was known for asking his two assistants to stand on the stage holding his teapot and teacup respectively. When he needed to take a drink, Liu would just stop the drama momentarily and the assistants would publicly pour him a cup of tea.[63]

Even though people did not regard the performative practice of *yinchang* as appropriate, they naturally associated them with promotion in socio-economic status. This can be evidenced in the comments on Gong Yunfu's (龚云甫, 1862–1932) practice of *yinchang*. Gong was considered to be one of the pioneers of portraying senior women on the stage. Not only did he present two personal tea sets on the stage, he also had the teapots labelled with "tea" and "ginseng soup," respectively. The comments, interestingly, exaggerated Gong's implication by relating the label of "tea" to *Zhangyiyuan* 张一元 and that of "ginseng soup" to *Tongren tang* 同仁堂, the two shops in Dashilar which provided the best quality tea and traditional medicine, respectively, at that time in Beijing.[64]

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[62] *Yinchang* gradually developed into a convention because the performers were not allowed to incorporate their own need to drink into the characters' acts of drinking, and the thrust stage in the playhouse could not offer any shield behind which the performers could take a drink. Qi Rushan 齐如山, "Tan yinchang" 谈饮场 [Talk About *Yinchang*], in *Qushu liuhen* 麴蘗留痕, 93. According to Goldstein, the permeability between stage space and audience space can perhaps be best illuminated by the evolution of *yinchang*. Goldstein, *Drama Kings,* 75.

[63] Qi Rushan 齐如山, "Tan genbao de" 谈跟包的 [Talk About Personal Assistants of Opera Actors], in *Qushu liuhen* 麴蘗留痕, 91.

[64] Ibid., 91–92.

These new practices made the teacup more salient in the playhouse even if it was no longer a key instrument of management. While the socio-economic hierarchy was in transition, the teacup acted as a primary organising force that assisted with the formation of a new social order in the playhouse. At the same time, the teacup, as an embodiment of refined sweetness, continued to invoke the recognition of superior wants and then allowed new commodities like western desserts and hot washcloths to be incorporated into the social order in the playhouse.[65] In this way, the playhouse served as a place of excitement where a dynamic of desires and sentiments, which could not be necessarily found elsewhere, were gratified and communicated.

Viewing playhouses as *heterotopias* where different desires were nurtured, tolerated and exchanged with one another we can better grasp their importance to the unique commercial character of Dashilar. While the majority of the commercial playhouses were clustered in Dashilar, almost all of them stood along the Dashilar Commercial Street, a main street in the area (Plates 24 and 25).[66] The Dashilar Commercial Street was only 270 metres long but densely populated by those playhouses and many shops.

The playhouses were essential for both the businesses of the many shops and the daily lives of the people who managed or worked for those shops. As the playhouses allowed them to express and fulfil their personal desires despite their lower social status, Beijing's merchants always courted their business partners by bringing them to the playhouses.[67] Not only that; many of them had enthusiastic interest in investing in their favourite performers. Meng Jinhou

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[65] Qi, "Xi guanzi," 45–46.

[66] Xue, Shilun Beijing Qingdai xiyuan jianzhu yu wenhua," 137–138; Yao Shuyi 么书仪, Wan Qing xiqu de biange 晚清戏曲的变革 [Changes in Opera in the Late Qing] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2018), 367–370.

[67] Wang Yongbin 王永斌, *Daqianmen: Wang Yongbin koushu lao Beijing shenghuo* 大前门：王永斌口述老北京生活 [Grand Qianmen: Wang Yongbin's Oral History of the Life in the Old Beijing], eds. Wang Wei 王炜 and Guo Wei 郭韡 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 179.

孟觐侯, the proprietor of Ruifuxiang 瑞蚨祥 on the Dashilar Commercial Street, which provided the best quality silk fabric in Beijing, was one of these famous, enthusiastic patrons. To support his favourite opera performer Xu Biyun 徐碧云, Meng funded the refurbishment of the nearby playhouse Zhongheyuan 中和园 and his shop made exclusive costumes for Xu.[68]

At the same time, the playhouses nurtured the shops to become *heterotopias*. Their experience in the playhouse made the audiences who ran or worked for a shop more aware of not only people's varying and changing demands, but also the features of different businesses. As the playhouses attracted local and itinerant visitors from all walks of life to Dashilar, the shops needed to navigate their own niches and show their hospitality to customers with diverse backgrounds. The proprietors thus often reflected on the operations of other shops and kept incorporating heterogeneous others into their own business strategies. For example, as recalled by Wang Yongbin, an apprentice working for an optical shop on the Dashilar Commercial Street, the shop's proprietor considered a good coverage of inventories a significant operating principle. Not only that, Wang was asked to be familiar with the business scopes and characters of the major shops in Dashilar, because the proprietor regarded it as part of their business expertise.[69]

3.3 The Modernisation of the Water Supply in Beijing: The Teacup Anchored the Principles of Sweetness

The modernisation of the water supply in Beijing started in the last few years of the Qing dynasty, when the court approved the establishment of a modern water plant for the city. This infrastructural development, however, turned out

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[68] Xie Chang 絜厂, "Gechang zazhui" 歌场杂缀 [Stories in the Playhouse], *Liyan huakan* 立言画刊, no. 204 (1942): 5.

[69] Wang Yongbin 王永斌, *Beijing de shangye jie he lao zihao* 北京的商业街和老字号 [The Commercial Streets and Established Brands in Beijing] (Beijing: Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 1999), 198–199.

to be complex and resulted in a sophisticated distribution pattern. In this section, I will explain the *heterotopic* characters of the modern water supply system in Beijing as a response to the agency of refined sweetness embodied by the teacups.

3.3.1 The Modern Water Supply System in Beijing: A Sophisticated Pattern

The original purpose of establishing a modern water plant in Beijing was to increase the water supply capacity for the sake of fire safety.[70] Before the city was heavily destroyed by the flames of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, Beijing had experienced twenty-seven large-scale fires since 1821.[71] These disasters made the Qing court realise the urgency of establishing an efficient fire rescue system in Beijing. But it took years for the court to decide on the establishment of a modern water plant. Finally, the court approved the proposal of founding the Beijing Water Company in 1908, and the water plant was put into use in 1910.[72]

Supervised by the court and managed by national entrepreneurs, the Water Company followed a set of important principles when it arranged pipes and public taps (Plate 26). First, the Water Company service covered the area enclosed by the city wall but excluded the Forbidden City. The order of the Forbidden City was considered permanent, because it symbolised the central position of the sovereign and served as an invisible centre of political authority. By excluding it from the service area, the Water Company avoided offending the metaphysical diagram of Imperial Beijing. Second, a two-pipe system was used in the Inner City and a single-pipe system of smaller calibre in the Outer

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[70] Chiu, "Shui wozi," 236–240.

[71] Shi Mingzheng 史明正, *Zouxiang xiandaihua de Beijing cheng* 走向现代化的北京城 (Beijing: Peking University Press, 1995), 167.

[72] Beijing Water Company, Beijing Municipal Archives, and Literature Compilation Department of Renmin University of China, eds. *Beijing zilaishui gongsi dang'an shiliao (1908–1949)* 北京自来水公司档案史料 (1908–1949) [Historical Archives of Beijing Water Company (1908–1949)] (abb. BJZLSGSDASL, Beijing: Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 1986), 1–7.

City, despite the fact that the latter had a much larger population than the former. According to statistics for 1908, the population of the Outer City (705,604) was considerably larger than that of the Inner City (414,528).[73] The main pipes, however, were only distributed in the Inner City. One of the primary branches ran from the Qian Gate (Zhengyang Gate) and down to the south along the central axis. The other two branches were connected to the main structure at the Xuanwu Gate and Chongwen Gate respectively, passed under the city wall, embraced the marketplace in the Outer City, and finally met at the central axis.[74] By treating the Outer City as inferior to and separated from the Inner City, the piping arrangement conformed to the socio-political hierarchy embodied in the formal plan of Imperial Beijing. Finally, the public taps were evenly distributed along the main streets and at the city gates. Such distribution only considered fire protection as its major purpose, caring little about the daily water supply to the residents.

These principles provided the Water Company with clear instructions for its operation. The Company strictly implemented this ideological plan when constructing the system and did not alter its physical arrangement until the 1950s. One would presume that the pattern of this new water supply system would be straightforward and easily perceived in its actual application. The reality, however, was quite the opposite. The deviation of the actual application from the ideological plan has been well illustrated in a map drawn in 1912 by the French engineer Georges Bouillard (1862–1930), which portrayed Beijing's modern water supply in light of its actual usage: the piping system does not conform to the metaphysical diagram and spatial hierarchy of Imperial Beijing, all the pipes were of the same grade, and the distribution in the

[73] "Guangxu sanshisi nian minzhengbu tongji biao"光绪三十四年民政部统计表 [The Report of the Ministry of Civil Affairs of the Thirty-fourth under the reign of Emperor Guangxu], in *Beijing zhi (juan 3): Zonghe zhi, Renkou zhi* [The Gazetteer of Beijing (vol. 3): The Comprehensive Records, Demographic Records], ed. Beijing Municipal Gazetteer Committee (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2004): 22.

[74] BJZLSGSDASL, 4–5, 72.

northern part of the Outer City turned out to be the densest (Plate 27).[75] Not only that; the officially approved modern system did not replace the widely criticised Water Houses, but turned out to be constantly juxtaposed with them in the city (Plate 28). Even more perplexingly, from 1923 the Water Company developed a plan for water delivery and started to retail tap water by water cart from door to door in Dashilar. To understand this complex process of infrastructural development, the ideological plan was evidently insufficient. The following analysis will show how the blue-and-white teacup as an embodiment of refined sweetness can help reveal this process.

3.3.2 The Water Company Attempted to Redefine the Notion of Sweetness

In addition to contributing to fire protection, as the operational cost of the water plant was very high the Water Company had to self-finance its operation by supplying water to the residents for their daily use. The Water Company therefore made great efforts to adapt to Beijing's daily water market and appreciated the actual demands of the residents. Before the establishment of the Water Plant, the daily water market of Beijing had been monopolised by

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[75] Georges Bouillard, "Projet de distribution d'eau et d'assainissement pour la ville de Pékin," in *Beijing gu ditu ji* 北京古地图集 [Beijing in Historical Maps], ed. National Library of China (Beijing: Cehui chubanshe, 2010), 243. Bouillard served as the chief engineer for the northern section of the Beijing-Hankou Railway from 1898. During his stay in Beijing, Bouillard devoted himself to mapping the city and its surroundings. Around 1912, he complied a map to portray the modern water supply and sanitation system of Beijing. According to the historical archives of Beijing Water Company, Bouillard had never participated in the water project and, therefore, could have little knowledge about the official plan. It was then highly likely that the piping arrangement in his mapping represented the actual usage of the system after it was put into use in 1910. When tap water was available free of charge during the trial operation in 1910, the demands outside the three gates between the Inner and Outer City – Xuanwu Gate, Zhengyang Gate, and Chongwen Gate – were particularly high. Besides accommodating a large population, these areas were caused severe distress by the Water Houses. In two different reports published in 1875, *Shen Bao* (Shanghai News) described the Water House System in Beijing as officially approved and stressed its backwardness. According to these reports, the sweet water cost 80 *wen* for two buckets, the bitter water sold for 40 *wen*, and these prices doubled only three months later. It was the Water Houses that used the dry season as an excuse to squeeze the residents. It is therefore not surprising that the residents who lived outside the three gates appreciated the emergence of tap water and queued at the public taps for free water during the trial operation. "Jingdu shuili" 京都水利 [Water Supply in Beijing], *Shen Bao* 申报, April 26, 1875. "Jingdu shuigui" 京都水贵 [Expensive Water in Beijing], *Shen Bao* 申报], July 12, 1875.

the Water Houses since the mid-seventeenth century. As the custom of tea drinking made sweetness the most desirable quality, the Water Houses determined the price of well-water by its taste and set the price of sweet well-water at the highest level. Based on an understanding of the daily water market, the Water Company realised the necessity to justify the high price of tap water by its sweetness.

To justify the sweetness of tap water, the Water Company composed a series of advertisements. In one of the most detailed advertisements, the Company explained that the water plant was established against the background of the daily water supply in Beijing being highly reliant upon the wells, and that the aim was to ameliorate the great variation in the quality of well-water.[76] This advertisement then stressed the great effort that the Company had made in selecting a source of sweet water for the establishment of the new system. It said:

> It took our company a lot of time and effort to find the Sun River 孙河 in the north of Beijing as an appropriate source. The water of the Sun River tastes sweet and is also very clean. It is therefore much better than other sources.[77]

This narrative, however, differed considerably from what was stated in the proposal submitted to the Qing court on April 28, 1908. According to this proposal, the Sun River was selected because it had an adequate volume of water rather than because of the water's sweet taste.[78]

On this basis, the Water Company also attempted to redefine the notion of sweetness by relating it to the idea of hygiene. In the same advertisement mentioned above, after stressing the sweetness of the source of the water

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[76] Beijing Water Company, "Jieshao zilaishui gaikuang guanggao 介绍自来水概况广告 [The Introduction of Tap Water]," published in January 1910, in BJZLSGSDASL, 61.

[77] Ibid.

[78] BJZLSGSDASL, 1–2.

plant, the Company gave a scientific explanation of sweetness by looking into the chemical composition of tap water in relationship to a set of standards.[79] This explanation undermined the long-established connection between the sweetness of water and the practice of tea drinking in pursuit of refined tastes. By emphasising the standards in chemical composition could guarantee not only the taste of tap water but its cleanness, the Company associated the notion of sweetness with the idea of hygiene. This idea of hygiene made the sweetness of water no longer a superior want but a necessity, which allowed the Company to stimulate the demand for tap water.

To testify to the quality of tap water, the Company set up four zones for a trial operation and offered free tap water to each zone for one week on rotation between February and March of 1910 before the new system was officially in operation (Plate 29).[80] At the same time, the Company was aware that the actual demand for tap water would vary in different areas of the city owing to its high price. To achieve more efficient usage of the system, the Company came up with the idea of rearranging the public taps according to the actual demand in different areas of the city. To measure the actual demand, the Company asked the branch offices in each zone to investigate the actual usage of water from the public taps within their designated service area for one to two months after the system was officially in operation.[81]

3.3.3 The Teacup Modified the Modern Water Supply System in Beijing

Although the Water Company attempted to redefine the sweetness of tap water as a necessity for hygiene reasons, the residents in Beijing still used

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[79] BJZLSGSDASL, 61.

[80] Beijing Water Company, "Zeri songshui guanggao" 择日送水广告 [The Advertisement for Water Delivery], in BJZLSGSDASL, 59–60.

[81] Beijing Water Company, "Zhi Baihuabao deng han" 致白话报等函 [Letter to *Plain Language Newspaper* and others], and "Baihua guanggao 白话广告" [Advertisement in Plain Language], in BJZLSGSDASL, 60.

their teacups to examine the quality of water. This is evident in the letter written by the resident En Yusan 恩雨三 to the Water Company. En complained about the quality of tap water because the tea turned out to be oily in appearance when being infused by tap water.[82] While the residents used tap water to infuse tea, the superior forms of their teacup would always remind them that refined sweetness is a pursuit beyond the basic need of quenching their thirst and ensuring their physical health. This can be evidenced in an essay on a trivial experience of tea drinking written by Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881–1936), a leading figure of modern Chinese literature.[83] Lu Xun once bought some fine tea, but when infusing it in an ordinary pot he failed to taste any difference from coarse tea. However, after changing to a porcelain *gaiwan*, a superior form of teacup with lid, for infusion, he found the tea turned out to be clear and sweet, lightly fragrant with a pleasantly bitter hint. Although he used tap water for both infusions, it was the *gaiwan* that allowed the subtle taste of sweetness to be grasped and made the experience of tea drinking different from that simply for hydration.[84]

To this extent, the superior forms of teacups anchored the principle of sweetness as catering to superior wants rather than basic needs. This made many residents in Beijing regard tap water as a commodity to fulfil the superior wants of tea drinking. As evidenced in a conversation recorded by a sojourner from Japan, a local resident explained that he knew a lot about the Water Company and agreed that tap water was better for hygiene, but he still chose to use sweet well-water in daily life because the water from artesian wells

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[82] "Waicheng xunjing zongting wei yanna pohuai shuizhi zhitu dengshi zhi zilaishui gongsi yiwen" 外城巡警总厅为严拿破坏水质之徒等事致自来水公司移文 [The Official Letter From the Head Police Office of the Outer City to the Water Company for the Issue of Bringing Those Responsible for Compromising Water Quality to Justice]," August 19, 1910, in BJZLSGSDASL, 75.

[83] Lu Xun 鲁迅, "He cha" 喝茶 [Drinking Tea], *Shen Bao,* October 2, 1933.

[84] Lu Xun's daily water supply depended on tap water. He set up a private tap after he purchased his own property in Beijing in 1919. After he moved to Shanghai, he rented a flat which was also supplied by tap water.

tasted as sweet as tap water and was relatively more economical.[85] As a result, the demand for tap water was not stimulated as the Water Company had expected. Not only that, the residents in Beijing resisted the Water Company's plan for rearranging the public taps according to a measurement of actual demand in different service zones. Instead, they requested tap water be provided with greater convenience and flexibility. As the middle-income households only used tap water for infusing tea, their demand for tap water was generally limited. Therefore, they would not spend a fortune to install private taps but would only visit public taps. As for purchasing water from the public taps, the actual cost included several additional inconveniences to the payment for water.

First, the residents had to visit one of the branch offices to buy "water tickets" because the water from the public taps could not be purchased in cash. When getting water from one of the public taps, one had to present the correct number of "water tickets" to the tap keeper. The tap keeper, however, only worked certain hours during the day, which exacerbated the irregularity of the supply.[86] Moreover, the public taps were not close to most of the residences because the major purpose of their distribution was fire protection rather than daily use, so they hardly reached secondary alleys. All of these factors made the cost of tap water markedly higher than that of the sweet well-water, which was usually delivered to the door without requiring extra actions by the residents.

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[85] "Shui zhi youlie 水之优劣[The Good and Bad Water]," in *Guanhua xu jijiu pian* 官话续急就篇 [A Sequel to Quick Mastery of the Mandarin Language] (vol.1), collected in ed. Tarō Hatano 波多野太郎, *Chūgoku gogaku shiryō sōkan* 中国语学资料丛刊 (Tokyo: Fuji Press, 1984), 44–45. This conversation is cited by Chiu, "Shui wozi," 246.

[86] Beijing Water Company, "Jieshi shoushui shiban jianzhang" 街市售水试办简章 [A Plot Scheme of General Regulations for Water Selling from Public Taps] and "Jieshi kanguan longtou shuifu guitiao" 街市看管龙头水夫规条 [The Rules for the Public Tap Keepers], in BJZLSGSDASL, 27–28.

Therefore, the residents in Beijing began to negotiate delivery service with the Water Company. This request was clearly expressed in the correspondence between the residents and the Company:

> The capital is far from rivers and all the residents drink well-water; it has become a custom for a long time that the people from Shandong Province [who run the Water Houses] deliver [well-water to the residents] by using water carts.[87] Since your company established the water plant, [the residents] get to know [the] hygiene and noiselessness [of this new system] and nobody did not welcome it. [The water plant] has been running more than half a year, but the poor sales have never been improved. It is not simply because some of the residents have been misled by the rumour [that tap water is of bad quality]. If analysed carefully, the cause lies in the fact that the lack of delivery service has discouraged the potential customers. (August 12, 1910)[88]

Responding to this request, the Water Company abandoned the plan of redistributing public taps according to actual sales. Instead, in August 1910 the Company drew up a special method for water delivery. While responding to the middle-income households' demand, this new plan still conformed to the socio-political hierarchy of Imperial Beijing by first being applied in the service zone of Zhongyi Branch 中一分局 adjacent to the main entrance of the Forbidden City in the Inner City (Plate 30).[89] The residents within this service zone were allowed to register a fixed amount of water for their daily usage at

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[87] The Water Houses were generally run by people from Shandong Province. When the Qing Army occupied Beijing in 1644, the cooks who were authorised to manage the wells generally came from Shandong Province. It was this group of people from Shandong Province who began to sell well-water and set up territories of delivery.

[88] The writer called himself Wu Mingshi 吴铭世 which might be an alias because it is a homonym of "an anonymous person" (无名氏). Wu Mingshi 吴铭世, "Yonghu Wu Mingshi wei 'tebie songshui guanggao' shi zhi zilaishui gongsi han" 用户吴铭世为'特别送水广告'事致自来水公司函 [A Letter from Wu Mingshi to the Water Company for the Advertisement on Special Delivery Service], in BJZLSGSDASL, 74.

[89] BJZLSGSDASL, 5.

the branch office and pre-purchase “special water tickets” for the delivery service. Each ticket costed one copper coin and covered 37.5 kg water (one and a half times the size of the general bucket) and its delivery fee. The Company promised to apply this new method to other areas in the city if it operated well in the service zone of Zhongyi Branch.[90]

It is not surprising that this water delivery plan turned out to be less successful in the service zone of Zhongyi Branch, because the potential customers who expected the delivery service mainly lived in the populated Outer City. While the Water Company’s plan failed to be applied widely in the city, the demand for delivery of tap water persisted until the 1920s. After the monarchy was replaced by a republic in 1912, many residents wrote constantly to the Municipality and the Water Company, urging them to provide a tap water delivery service in their living areas.[91]

In addition to stressing the urgency of tap water delivery, the residents underlined the insufficiency of the existing plan for delivery. First, they suggested that the water tickets should not be bound to a registered address, because over half of them lived in leased properties and moved frequently. Second, they found it unreasonable to register a fixed amount of water for their daily use, because a household’s demand for water usually varied with the seasons and no water would be needed if the family travelled away from home for days.[92] Overall, these potential customers called for a better system of water delivery that could allow the dynamic of demand for refined sweetness to continue.

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[90] Beijing Water Company, “Zilaishui gongsi tebie songshui guanggao” 自来水公司特别送水广告 [The Advertisement for the Special Delivery Service], in BJZLSGSDASL, 73.

[91] “Bufen yonghu zhi shizheng gongsuo chengwen 部分用户致市政公所呈文” [Selected Letters from the Residents to the Municipality], and “Bufen yonghu zhi zilaishui gongsi han” 部分用户致自来水公司函 [Selected Letters from the Residents to the Water Company], in BJZLSGSDASL, 127.

[92] Wu Mingshi 吴铭世, “Yonghu Wu Mingshi wei ‘tebie songshui guanggao’ shi zhi zilaishui gongsi han” 用户吴铭世为“特别送水广告”事致自来水公司函, in BJZLSGSDASL, 74.

After years of negotiation, in 1923 the Water Company and the residents in Beijing finally reached an agreement on the delivery plan. Because the imperial ideology no longer played a dominant role in the operation of the Water Company, the delivery service could be applied in the place where it was most urgently needed. According to Sidney D. Gamble's social survey, Dashilar was both one of the densest and one of the least poor areas in Beijing (Plates 31 and 32). It is then understandable that the Company chose Nanyou Branch 南右分局 as a pilot, which mainly served Dashilar (Plate 30).[93]

Within the pilot area, water carts retailed water from door to door. The customers were still asked to register their address and estimated usage in different seasons in advance. However, they had the freedom to adjust the amount to be delivered to their home as needed by simply informing the water carrier or making a call to the branch office.[94] This unique system of retailing tap water by water cart from door to door spread from Dashilar to the whole of Beijing and continued to work up to the 1950s, well after the communists took power.

This is the process of how the modern water supply system in Beijing developed its sophisticated organisation. Such organisation accommodated the different notions of sweetness by introducing a *heterotopic* system of delivering tap water manually. Through this analysis, we can grasp the emergence and development of this *heterotopic* system as a response to the agency of refined sweetness embodied by teacups in superior forms.

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[93] Nanyou Branch was located near *Liuli chang* 琉璃厂 and served a bustling area between the Xuanwu Gate and Zhengyang Gate in the Outer City.

[94] Beijing Water Company, "Zilaishui gongsi shuiche songshui tonggao" 自来水公司水车送水通告 [The Water Company's Announcement about Water Delivery by Water Cart], in BJZLSGSDASL, 127–128.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, through the ontologies of teacups, I have demonstrated the processes whereby the commercial playhouses in Dashilar and the modern water supply system in Beijing developed their sophisticated operations and *heterotopic* characteristics.

In these processes, the teacup, as an everyday *thing*, can function as both *actor* and *actant*. It is easy for the teacup to be recognised as the source of many actions, therefore *actant*. For example, in the commercial playhouses, the proprietor used it as an instrument to execute his profit-making model; the audience and actors took advantage of its form and presence to claim their social status.

But more importantly, the teacups in superior forms, especially the blue-and-white porcelain and *gaiwan*, embodied the superior want of sweetness in tea drinking and, therefore, became agents or *actors* themselves. Inducing people to recognise their superior wants, the teacup made the commercial playhouses develop into marketplaces where varying desires were gratified and communicated. As different ways of tea drinking were developed and incorporated into the ever-changing social orders, the teacup remained a primary organising force in the commercial playhouse despite socio-economic transitions. At the same time, the teacup anchored the notion of sweetness as a pursuit beyond the basic need of quenching thirst and ensuring physical health. It thus made the residents in Beijing resist the plan of the modern water supply system but negotiated for a delivery service with the Water Company. As a result, different notions of sweetness were incorporated into the sophisticated organisation of the modern water supply system in Beijing.

The teacup, as an embodiment of refined sweetness, allowed heterogeneities to be constantly nurtured and developed in the commercial playhouses, shops

and even the water supply system. By focusing on the teacup, we can see how places and their organisations have intertwined in multiple ways to provide complex everyday practices in Dashilar. Not only that; these everyday practices gradually mutated in sophisticated ways to accommodate heterogeneous others. In this way, Dashilar maintained its complexity and *heterotopic* characteristics without submitting to over-arching others.

Chapter Four
Shop Front

From the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) to the Republican era (1912–1949), Dashilar was the home of many shops that sold both essential and rare commodities and, especially, served the high-end market of both the Inner and Outer Cities of Beijing. For any first-time visitor to Dashilar, shop signs were everywhere, and he would be easily impressed and even overwhelmed by the fronts of the shops (Plate 33). Indeed, these shop fronts have been a representative image of Dashilar ever since.

The shops in Dashilar are built in a unique and perplexing way. To grasp the organisational features of these many shops beyond a first impression, we first have to understand how the businesses worked therein. Upon entry, a visitor would see a high serving counter behind which dozens of enthusiastic assistants were ready to take care of him. Indeed, without their help, the customer could hardly make any purchases: products on sale were usually not displayed but were carefully wrapped and properly stored behind the counter, to be brought out only by the assistants upon the customer's request. But the customer could never thoroughly assess or classify the available merchandise, because it was the proprietor (*zhanggui* 掌柜, lit. the person who takes control of the counter) alone who assumed total command of the inventory arrangement, customer policies, and any other business-related activities in the shop. Because there was a lack of prescribed principles prior to their establishment, each shop turned out to be a *heterotopia*: it followed its own rules that were unique, even differing from those of other shops in the same business; and it was precisely by being a *heterotopia* that each shop's promise to offer the customer something special could become credible.

The shop front was thus the entrance to each of these *heterotopias* – it led the customer to the counter, where a *heterotopia* like no other was experienced, and it had a performative role from either side of the counter. Viewed from the proprietor's side, it always had a concrete strategic function to perform in the whole machinery of management. The way the proprietor took advantage of the shop front was, however, often enacted behind the scenes. Viewed from the side of the street, the shop front would never be a straightforward representation but only a hint of the interior of the *heterotopia*. When captivated by a shop front, one had to make a choice: he could take the risk of being trapped by entering the *heterotopia*, or he could step away and remain ignorant of its qualities. Stepping away would not always be the answer because, as a consumer in the high-end market who was often looking for the best service and price of certain goods of a certain quality, he would have to enmesh himself within these many *heterotopias* to figure out each of their specialties. Therefore, an experienced consumer would consciously connect the performative aspects of a shop front with his developing understanding of the interiors of all the shops.

This two-way role of shop fronts allowed them to register the processes through which the practices of different shops, and their interactions with many other practices, have worked out the perplexing fabrics of Dashilar. In this chapter, I will look into two series of *heterotopias* – the traditional Chinese drugstores and the silk fabric shops – in order to grasp certain unique and perplexing features to be found in these shops and to explain the shop fronts as an organising force in Dashilar.

The first series of *heterotopias* consists of the traditional Chinese drugstores in Dashilar. As required by the same medical tradition, these drugstores organised the interiors of their *heterotopias* in very similar ways. Their shop fronts, however, were often quite different in style. Not only that; the division between "modern" and "traditional" in medical practice did not correspond to

the same division in the architectural production of the drugstores. Focusing on two leading stores, *Tongren tang* 同仁堂 and *Deshou tang* 德寿堂, I will explain how different target customers would infer the interior of a *heterotopia* from the shop front in different ways, and how this difference motivated the proprietors to respond with different styles in their shop fronts.

The second series of *heterotopias* comprises the silk fabric shops in Dashilar. During the early twentieth century, more than two decades before one of them first began to reform the old-fashioned management style that limited customers' access to the products, these shops had intensively created new forms of shop fronts which absorbed both the eastern and western paradigms. Looking into the practices of *Ruifuxiang* 瑞蚨祥 and its competitors, I will explain how the intricacies of their shop fronts responded to the customers' codifications of the desirable qualities of their products and, at the same time, facilitated the development of their management in ever-changing contexts.

Through these two series of *heterotopias*, we will be able to understand that the performativity of the shop fronts in Dashilar not only conditioned the principles of exchange between proprietor and customers, but also constantly participated in the evolution of other shops in both their management and their architectural productions. To this extent, the shop fronts should be viewed as a constant force adding nuances to the social and physical fabrics of Dashilar. Through this analysis, we will also see how the shops in Dashilar as *heterotopias* nurtured and developed *heterotopias* as part of Dashilar's organising impulse.

4.1 Traditional Chinese Drugstores

4.1.1 A Perplexing Pattern of Drugstores in Dashilar

Conforming Interiors and Deviating Shop Fronts

Traditional Chinese drugstores elsewhere in Beijing often looked very much alike from both the inside and the outside. In Dashilar, however, they often had a combination of conforming interiors and deviating shop fronts. For example, both *Tongren tang* and *Deshou tang*, two famous drugstores in Dashilar, arranged their shops, storage rooms, and mills in very similar ways, but their shop fronts were quite different in their styles: *Tongren tang* appeared to be nothing more than a post-and-beam construction with no promotional hanging signs (Plate 34); *Deshou tang* built a two-storey shop front which featured elaborate decoration containing both Chinese and Western elements, even including a whistling model train on top (Plate 35).

The homogeneity of traditional drugstores in interior arrangement can be attributed to the shared medical tradition among them, which can be traced back to the regulatory expansion in medical practice during the Song dynasty (960–1279). By establishing new regulatory institutions and participating in the pharmaceutical market, the Song court to a great extent standardised the practices of drugstores.[1] For example, all drugstores shared two main

[1] During the Song dynasty, China witnessed a series of reforms which sought social transformation through centralised state policies. The expansions of medical regulation occurred as part of the Qingli Reforms of 1043–1044, the New Policies of 1069–1085, and the restoration to power of New Policies proponents under Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125). The state mandated the creation of Medical Schools from the centre to the prefectural and district level, established the Bureau for Editing Medical Treatises which was responsible for the production and distribution of medical texts, and created state-operated pharmacies to control the drug market. The practices of the state-operated pharmacies belonged to the learned and mainstream medicine that was based on medical classics, fine diagnostic methods, and prescriptive art. In contrast to small commercial shops, which mainly packaged raw ingredients for each customer on the basis of physicians' prescriptions, the state-operated pharmacies mainly sold powders, pills, or pastes made to standardised formulae. T.J. Hinrichs, "The Song and Jin Periods," in *Chinese Medicine and Healing: An Illustrated History*, ed. T.J. Hinrichs and Linda L. Barnes (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 99–102; see also Asaf Goldschmidt, "Commercializing Medicine or Benefiting the People—The First Public Pharmacy in China," *Science in Context* 21, no. 3 (2008): 311–350.

businesses: first, to acquire and prepare raw ingredients for each customer according to a physician's prescription, and, second, to produce and sell ready-made medicines to the public.

Given the shared tradition and practice, it is unsurprising that most traditional drugstores in Beijing seemed to have been built on the same plan, consisting of a shop in the front, a courtyard with storage rooms in the centre, and a mill with its own entry in the back, which served their shared business best. The shop in front featured a high counter that was U-shaped, with the left side for ready-made drugs, the right side for prescribed medicines, and the middle for settling accounts.[2] As an independent section, the mill in back included rooms for different procedures, but also sleeping quarters for the apprentices and assistants. Because the access to the space between the shop in front and the mill in back was usually restricted, it was used to preserve prescriptions and formulae, and to store all kinds of raw ingredients and ready-made medicines. Moreover, these drugstores often organised their shop fronts in very similar ways: they had a sign over the main entrance, erected at least one towering sign on the side of the shop, and hung an identical drugstore symbol—a plaster and two half plasters suspended on a chain—beside the entrance doorway. This layout, featuring a set of signs, was also inherited and developed from the dispensaries of the Song times. In the court paintings of the Song and Qing dynasties, we can find full front views of their contemporary dispensaries: they all occupied regular buildings but featured towering signs perpendicular to the shop front for advertisement (Plate 36).

Despite their homogeneous appearance, the drugstores in Qing and Republican Beijing were all run by individual proprietors. Although Yuan authorities (1206–1368) inherited the same medical institutions of the Song

[2] John Cameron, "Some Sidelights on Pharmacy in Peking, China," *American Journal of Pharmacy* 97, no. 10 (1925): 665. Sherman Cochran, *China Medicine Men: Consumer Culture in China and Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 30.

dynasty,[3] governmental dispensaries witnessed a steady decline from the early Ming (1368–1644) and were finally abandoned by the Qing courts in the mid-seventeenth century.[4] As commerciality grew, the growing objective of profit making imposed on drugstores an increasing need to distinguish themselves from each other. Thus, the drugstores in Beijing often produced their own special pills and strove to advertise their specialties to the public—for example, drugstores featured towering signs more often than other industries from the late Imperial to the Republican era (Plate 37).[5]

Dashilar was a place that especially presented this "commercial" trait; as the most elite commercial centre serving Beijing, its drugstores were especially keen on distinguishing themselves from each other. Not only did they prepare their own special pills; each store also adopted innovation in its management. By placing his office in the centre of the drugstore, the proprietor alone assumed total command of medicine production, inventory arrangement, customer policies, and any other business-related activities in the shop:

> Immediately behind the front shop there is a large room where the proprietor is usually to be found. In this room most of the official business of the drugstore is transacted – special friends may be entertained, samples of crude drugs may be brought here and examined by the chief assistants and the price decided over a cup of Chinese tea. Old prescriptions and formulae are usually preserved in this sanctum. This room usually opens out into a fairly large courtyard, one side of which is given up to the storage of poisons, nux vomica, crot[o]n seed, etc. It is interesting to note that all poisons are locked up

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[3] According to "*Baiguan zhi*" 百官志 in Song Lian 宋濂's *Yuan shi* 元史 [History of Yuan], the Yuan authorities established governmental dispensaries in the capital, Khanbaliq (*Dadu* 大都, present Beijing), to provide cheap medicines to the urban populace from 1261.

[4] Angela Ki Che Leung, "The Yuan and Ming Periods," in *Chinese Medicine and Healing: An Illustrated History*, ed. T.J. Hinrichs and Linda L. Barnes (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 147–148.

[5] The traditional drugstores in Qing Beijing particularly featured towering signs. In *Yanshi shangbiao nilu* 燕市商标睿录, Cai Shengge 蔡绳格 (闲圃鞠农) recorded the most impressive towering signs found in Beijing and drugstores accounted for the vast majority. Wu Jen-shu 巫仁恕, "Cong guankan dao yuedu: Ming Qing guanggao zhong tuxiang yu wenzi de yanbian" 从观看到阅读：明清广告中图像与文字的演变 [From Viewing to Reading: The Evolution of Visual Advertising in Late Imperial China], *Chung Cheng Chinese Studies* 中正汉学研究, no. 19 (2012): 222.

> in a special room – and these are never issued unless on the prescription of some Chinese medical practitioner who is known to the proprietor.[6]

To this extent, although the interiors of drugstores seemed to have been built on the same plan—whereby, for outsiders, access stopped at the serving counter in front of those endless rows of small drawers—each of the stores was actually a *heterotopia* defined by its proprietor. The shop fronts were where the proprietors showed the faces of their own *heterotopias*. As all kinds of people met and mingled in Dashilar, these shop fronts communicated with a huge variety of customers and saw the most radical innovations in their styles. By taking a closer look at these many styles of their shop fronts, we can find, in addition, an interesting paradox of traditional Chinese drugstore and modern Western appearance.

The Paradox of Traditional Chinese Drugstore and Modern Western Appearance

Prominent historians Hou Renzhi and Yue Shengyang have marked on a map the "modern architectures" that featured western elements within Dashilar, revealing that *Deshou tang* and another smaller traditional Chinese drugstore were the only two "modern" buildings related to healthcare in the neighbourhood (Plate 38). The note on this map explains these "modern architectures" as being overtly influenced by "western architecture, foreign cultures, advanced technologies and new materials"[7] in the 1900s–30s. To this extent, the map seems to suggest that these two drugstores were pioneers in healthcare modernisation. On one of the other maps by Hou and Yue, however, these two drugstores were excluded from the modern healthcare system of the same era (Plate 39). As explained in the note, the modern healthcare system

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[6] Cameron, "Some Sidelights on Pharmacy in Peking, China," 665–671.

[7] Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 97.

portrayed included western-style hospitals, a few prominent drugstores of traditional Chinese medicine, modern pharmacies, and also *niudou ju* 牛痘局 (cowpox vaccination bureaus), while excluding smaller drugstores, clinics, and itinerant doctors.[8] These two maps present us with a paradox in Dashilar: the division of "modern" and "traditional" in medical practice did not correspond to the same division in the architectural production of the drugstores.

Indeed, there was a discrepancy between architectural style and medical practice in Dashilar during the early twentieth century. On one side, those medical institutes that adopted more modern and western practices were often not given a modern or western architectural style because of the social background of the medical modernisation in Beijing. When the western medical practitioners started their scientific practices in Beijing, they did not view western medicine as something alien to China's best ideals and aspirations, but as "an organism which would become part of a developing Chinese civilisation." [9] To this extent, they made efforts to establish connections with Chinese society and were not eager to give their hospitals or pharmacies an overtly western appearance.

The most prestigious example was the Peking Union Medical College, an American-style medicine school and hospital built by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1921.[10] To highlight the modern institution's political significance and cultural superiority in a way that Chinese people could well appreciate, it

[8] Ibid., 94.

[9] Rockefeller Foundation, *Annual Report*, 1917, 224.

[10] After spending six years and over eight million dollars, the Rockefeller Foundation and its China Medical Board finally established the Peking Union Medical College (PUMC) in 1921. As the centre of the Foundation's philanthropic work in Asia, PUMC was a quintessentially American institution which had a "civilising mission" to the backward land. Aiming at excellence, PUMC recruited a faculty of internationally recognised calibre and was equipped with advanced biomedical facilities. Mary Brown Bullock, *An American Transplant: The Rockefeller Foundation and Peking Union Medical College* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). Mary E. Ferguson, *China Medical Board and Peking Union Medical College: A Chronicle of Fruitful Collaboration 1914–1951* (New York: China Medical Board of New York, Inc., 1970).

raised Chinese roofs in the same style as that of the Forbidden City (Plate 40).[11] Similarly, the modern pharmacies in Dashilar did not build foreign shop fronts to distinguish themselves from the traditional drugstores, although their interiors were equipped in a thoroughly modern way: indeed, in the photos from the 1930s, the modern pharmacies on Dashilar's Commercial Street all had their own traditional narrow flags hung over the street alongside the many flags of all manner of shops (Plate 41).

On the other side, some traditional drugstores adopted westernised architectural styles that would surprise anyone in Beijing at that time. *Deshou tang* on the southern margin of Dashilar was a prominent example. As a traditional Chinese drugstore, *Deshou tang* organised its interior in the traditional way, but overtly referred to the West in its shop front. It was a two-storey construction which featured brick walls instead of the traditional timber framework; on top, the roof parapet was raised in the centre to fit a round clock and hide the dome behind it; from the hole on either side of the parapet, a steam-train model even came forward, blowing the whistle every hour on the hour during the daytime (Plate 35)! Although the two-storey structure, the round clock, the dome, and the stream-train model were overtly foreign, why and how they were combined in the shop front is rather perplexing.

As discussed above, the traditional Chinese drugstores present us with a confusing pattern. First, they often had a combination of conforming interiors and deviating shop fronts. Second, some of them innovated "foreign" shop fronts which were usually identified by historians as representative examples

[11] When the construction of PUMC was accomplished in 1921, the visual effect of the curved roofs turned out to be the most striking part of its physical realisation to the group led by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who had travelled from the US to Beijing for the dedication. Looking from the Grand Hotel de Pekin, a view which impressed Dr William Henry Welch, the green tiled roofs of PUMC paralleled the hundreds of curved roofs with their golden glow where the once Forbidden City was located. For the Westerners who particularly enjoyed this panoramic view, it was a powerful image conveying the message that PUMC was redefining the parameters of China's best medical practice. William Welch, *William Welch Papers* (WWP), 47. The original text is cited by Bullock, *An American Transplant*, 7.

of the “modern architecture” that emerged in the 1900s–30s, while the modern system of healthcare was often not given a western appearance in Beijing during that period. To grasp this perplexing pattern, I will focus on two leading stores, *Tongren tang* and *Deshou tang*. By tracing the processes through which their shop fronts were invented and became influential, I will explain their deviations and special compositions in the constant negotiation between their proprietors and their customers. This analysis will also demonstrate how the shop front conditioned the principles of exchange in Dashilar.

4.1.2 *Tongren tang* Acted Out the Virtue of Humaneness

The drugstore *Tongren tang* was established by the Yue family in 1669 and was moved into Dashilar in 1702 (Plate 42).[12] Standing on the south of the Dashilar Commercial Street—one of the busiest streets in the neighbourhood— *Tongren tang* was a tranquil isle in the sea: it simply opened its front to the street without presenting anything attractive at all. Nonetheless, it was one of the busiest drugstores in Beijing, receiving people from far and near to purchase its pills and special preparations every day. Customers were very much impressed by its unostentatious shop front, which they began to regard as part of *Tongren tang*’s long-established reputation for being honest and humane. Such recognition allowed *Tongren tang* to develop a specific style in its shop front in a few rebuildings later.

[12] Although *Tongren tang* was founded in 1669, its humble origin can be traced back to the Ming dynasty when Yue Liangcai 乐良才 travelled from Zhejiang Province to Beijing as an itinerant doctor. To settle down in the capital, Yue encouraged his descendants to study medical classics and promote their status as scholar-physicians. Finally, Yue Liangcai’s great-grandson Yue Xianyang 乐显扬 (1630–1688) became a physician serving the Qing court after his failure in the official civil service examinations, then established a small mill (*yao shi*) called *Tongren tang* to make medicines. In 1702, Yue Xiangyang’s son, Yue Fengming 乐凤鸣, opened a real drugstore in the true sense of the word (*yao pu*) in Dashilar. Zhongguo Beijing Tongren tang jituan gongsi 中国北京同仁堂集团公司 and Beijing Tongren tang shi bianweihui 北京同仁堂史编委会, eds., *Beijing Tongren tang shi* 北京同仁堂史 [History of *Tongren tang* in Beijing] (abb. BJTRTS, Beijing: Renmin ribao chubanshe, 1993), 1–5.

Despite its serene exterior, *Tongren tang* was a commercial establishment with the primary objective of making a profit. The Yue family took on this business when they began to serve as medical officials at the Imperial Hospital, where their access to the medicine recipes preserved by the Imperial Hospital Library allowed them to produce specialties that had never before been available on the market.[13] When *Tongren tang* was designated a supplier to the Imperial Pharmacy in 1723, this official connection made it especially prominent in the industry.[14]

The commercial aspect of *Tongren tang* declined, however, from the mid-1740s to the late 1830s. This was when the Yue family lost control over the store after a fire in 1753 burned down the store, taking the lives of some family members. While the family could not afford to rebuild the store, Zhang Shiji 张世基, an ally of the family and head of the Imperial Pharmacy, took over the store and convinced the court to sponsor its reconstruction. Because the succeeding managers over-relied on imperial patronage, paying little attention to sales to the public and specialty innovations, the store inevitably declined when the imperial patronage decreased considerably in the early decades of the 1800s.[15]

This decline of *Tongren tang* gave the Yue family an opportunity to take the store back and develop a distinctive management pattern to guarantee sustainable commercial benefits. Lacking the financial capacity to build a full-fledged drugstore, Yue Pingquan 乐平泉 (1810–1880) first opened a small medical mill (*yao shi*) to produce pills based on the Yue family's special recipes. When his pills became increasingly recognised, Yue stopped selling medicines

[13] Ibid.; Cochran, *China Medicine Men*, 20.

[14] BJTRTS, 14–16, 19–23.

[15] In the early nineteenth century, the advance payments from the imperial court to *Tongren tang* fell to two thirds of the amount in the late eighteenth century. BJTRTS, 12–13, 24, 28–30, 19–23.

from his own mill but authorised *Tongren tang* to sell his pills and took a commission on their sales. In 1843, the profit brought by the popularity of his pills finally allowed Yue to acquire *Tongren tang*.[16] To preserve and develop the family's special knowledge, Yue innovated a reliable and durable organisation for medicine production by converting members of the family into a disciplined workforce.[17] To protect the reputation of *Tongren tang*, Yue further strengthened its official connections: he bought imperial degrees to get greater access to officials, on the one hand; and on the other, followed the model of the earlier governmental dispensary – for example, by contributing to medical relief and other charitable contributions to urban welfare in the capital.[18]

For the Yue family, the plaque over the main entrance of the drugstore on which the name *Tongren tang* was inscribed was the most significant representation of its distinctive reputation: not only standing for the family's special expertise in manufacturing high-quality medicines, it also hinted at the store's long-lasting relationship with the imperial court. Because it had taken Yue Pingquan years of endeavour to reclaim this plaque for his family, the store made great efforts thereafter to protect the plaque from being burned by fire or imitated by other stores.[19] To this extent, if this plaque was presented on the shop front, no additional sign would be necessary.

For the customers, on the other side, *Tongren tang's* shop front was in sharp contrast to the atmosphere of Dashilar's Commercial Street. The photo taken in the 1920s shows that *Tongren tang*'s shop front featured a regular post-and-

[16] BJTRTS, 30–31. Zhao Yunsheng 赵云声 and Liu Mingtao 刘明涛, *Zhongguo da zibenjia zhuan* 中国大资本家传 [Biographies of Famous Chinese Capitalists] (Changchun: Shidai wenyi chubanshe, 1994), vol. 7, 477.

[17] BJTRTS, 30–35.

[18] Cochran, *China Medicine Men,* 21–23; BJTRTS, 32–33, 8–10, 3–4, 33–34.

[19] From the second half of the nineteenth century, the Yue family repeatedly called upon the police force under imperial rule to prevent the store's name from being imitated by its rivals. Ibid., 21–22; BJTRTS, 8–10, 148.

beam construction, a roof of standard tiles, and an open front with wooden shutters (Plate 34). As John Cameron noted in 1925, the store had "no drug store sign hanging above its door" and was "perhaps the most unostentatious of all the old drug stores in this city [Beijing]."[20] This contrast between *Tongren tang* and its surroundings gave customers a strong impression that it focused much less on profit-making than the other stores. This impression would lead them to infer that the reputation of *Tongren tang* had been built upon the Yue family's integrity and their distinguished expertise in medicine manufacture. At the same time, customers noticed that *Tongren tang* was the only store along the Dashilar Commercial Street that was built on a site lower than the street, whether incidentally or intentionally, allowing patients to step into the store with less effort and to feel hopeful when stepping out. By relating this special feature to the way *Tongren tang* practised differently from other drugstores, the customers naturally reflected on the charitable contributions that the store made to public welfare. To this extent, the lower entry of the store began to be interpreted by customers as an example of *Tongren tang*'s humaneness.

These interpretations by the customers motivated the Yue family to retain the style of the shop front of *Tongren tang* as part of its tradition. Although the store was rebuilt many times, the shop front was never elaborately decorated and the management even stopped hanging up the drugstore sign, in order to conceal its identity as a commercial dispensary, instead relying on and being nurtured by its reputation. At the same time, *Tongren tang* always built its entrance on a lower level so that all manner of customers, especially illiterate ones, could easily recognise it by this architectural feature. Moreover, the proprietor was motivated to give this architectural feature an additional practical function: by burying containers under the ground of the courtyard to

[20] Cameron, "Some Sidelights on Pharmacy in Peking, China," 665.

collect the rain water flowing from the street, the entrance began to supplement the water supply to the mill.[21]

Although the shop front of *Tongren tang* looked unadorned, it was neither in conflict with its commercial function nor aimed at the virtue of humaneness. Instead, it acted as a mediator in the negotiation between the proprietor and customers. As the distinctive aspects of its architectural form were recurrently connected to the durable reputation of *Tongren tang*, the shop front was gradually formalised and continued to promote the exchange between the proprietor and customers.

4.1.3 *Deshou tang* Blew the Whistle

In sharp contrast to *Tongren tang*, *Deshou tang*, another traditional drugstore in Dashilar, innovated a "foreign" shop front which was usually identified by historians as a representative example of the "modern architecture" that emerged in the 1900s–30s, while the modern system of healthcare was often not given a western appearance in Beijing during that period. This section looks into the formation and specific roles of *Deshou tang*'s innovative shop front.

As a traditional drugstore, the interior arrangement of *Deshou tang* was very similar to all the other drugstores: it consisted of three parts, including a shop in the front, a central courtyard with private rooms, and a back courtyard with its own entry serving as a medical mill (Plate 43). Although the storefront building had two storeys, the shop only occupied the ground floor and appeared to be nothing special—one would find a U-shaped serving counter

[21] Wang Yongbin 王永斌, "Tongrentang" 同仁堂 in *Daqianmen: Wang Yongbin koushu lao Beijing shenghuo* 大前门：王永斌口述老北京生活 [Grand Qianmen: Wang Yongbin's Oral History of the Life in the Old Beijing], eds. Wang Wei 王炜 and Guo Wei 郭韡 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 203. Bian Dongzi 边东子, *Guobao Tongrentang* 国宝同仁堂 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe: 2010), 21–22.

behind which were endless rows of small drawers containing all manner of raw ingredients and, above them, a few rows of blue porcelain jars with brass tops for the storage of ready-made pills. The upper floor was directly on top of the shop, but the stairs that led towards it were located behind the shop in the central courtyard. The access to the upper floor was therefore highly restricted, serving as part of the private space where the proprietor made the rules. This interior arrangement of *Deshou tang* had not been influenced at all by foreign culture or medical modernisation.

Before discussing how its shop front helped *Deshou tang* distinguish itself from other drugstores, we need to understand first why and how *Deshou tang* targeted different customers from other drugstores. Unlike other proprietors, Kang Boqing 康伯卿, the founder of *Deshou tang*, did not have a family tradition in medicine. Born in a poor family in the rural area outside Beijing, Kang had apprenticed at a traditional drugstore in the Inner City where he first learned to make medicines and accessed medical texts. He acted as an assistant in the same drugstore after his apprenticeship was over but decided to start his own medicine-making business a few years later.[22] At that time, it was unusual for one with such a background to open a drugstore, because drugstores generally supplied well-off urban families and extensive knowledge of medicine was required to gain recognition by these customers. Therefore, drug sellers with a similar background to Kang's would usually buy a few kinds of popular medicine from established drugstores and fit them out on a stall at fairs in different quarters of the city throughout the year.[23] Kang believed, however, that his knowledge and experience could allow him to produce medicine of acceptable or even good quality at a much lower price, so he turned his home into a small medical mill and tried to sell his own pills by

[22] Zhang Jianming 张建明 and Qi Dashi 齐大之, *Huashuo Jingshang* 话说京商 [Stories of Beijing's Entrepreneurs] (Beijing: China Industry & Commerce Associated Press, 2006), 242–243; Wen De 闻德, "'Yuanzhi yuanwei' lao yaopu" "原汁原味"老药铺 [Authentic Old Pharmacy], *Shoudu yiyao* 首都医药 [Capital Medicine] 1 (2012): 36.

[23] Cameron, "Some Sidelights on Pharmacy in Peking, China," 665–671.

peddling them among the inns in the Outer City. But the sales of his pills were hampered by their anonymity, although their quality was comparable to that of the pills made by established drugstores.

Recognising this, Kang re-oriented his business by wholesaling his pills to small traders who were active in the rural areas, which earned him sufficient capital to open his first drugstore, *Deshou tang*, just outside the Chongwen Gate in 1920. Although his medicines began to be sold directly to the customers in the store, the wholesale department remained his primary business. After years of effort, Kang expanded his store in 1922, opened an east branch at *Huashi* in 1928, and finally set foot in Dashilar by opening his third store and also the south branch of *Deshou tang* in 1934 (Plate 44).[24]

The opening and expansion of the stores increased the urgency of the need to create prominent specialties for *Deshou tang*. In 1921, Kang employed Wu Hongxi 吴鸿溪, a senior physician who gave him his first apprenticeship opportunity, to help with inventing special preparations. Their strategy was to invent more affordable substitutes for some famous recipes which often used expensive materials and were processed in very sophisticated ways. As a result of their efforts, *Kangshi niuhuang jiedu wan* 康氏牛黄解毒丸, a drug for heat-clearing and detoxifying, became the first and most famous invention of *Deshou tang*.[25]

Deshou tang's special pills catered very well to the demands of urban customers of lower socio-economic status, but their credibility was yet to be established. The good news for Kang was that the urban populace in Beijing who were of lower socio-economic status did not assume that different styles

[24] Zhang Jianming 张建明 and Qi Dashi 齐大之, *Huashuo Jingshang*, 243–244; Liu Shouyi 刘受益, "Lao zihao Deshou tang and 'Kangshi mizhi niuhuang jiedu wan'" 老字号德寿堂与"康氏秘制牛黄解毒丸", *Beijing dangan* 北京档案 [Beijing Archive] 3 (2007): 49.

[25] Ibid.

of medicine might be mutually contradictory, or that they could not be used at the same time.[26] Therefore, they had sufficient curiosity to test the effectiveness of different medicines and tended to choose the most cost-effective ones within their financial capabilities.[27] This gave Kang an opportunity to find his niche in the commercial landscape of Beijing.

In the 1920s–30s, the populace of lower socio-economic status in Beijing usually went to *Tianqiao* 天桥, a newly emerged market featuring cheap and second-hand goods, to buy their daily necessities, including medicines. The emergence of Tianqiao can be attributed to the process of constructing a new Republican Beijing: cleaning up the Inner City, opening the Temple of Heaven as a public park, building new roads and railways, and designating Tianqiao as the terminal of the new trolley lines (Plate 45).[28] Because all that was not wanted within the Republican ideology was displaced to Tianqiao, it became a place for selling second-hand goods and personalised bodily skills (Plate 46). While the material goods stimulated everyone's suspicions, the bodily performances enjoyed a reputation for true mastery.[29]

The reliability of the medicines sold at Tianqiao was commonly doubted by customers. To overcome this doubt, the sellers often relied on the credibility provided by their physical skills, as they could not present any other valid evidence for the effectiveness of their medicines. The most trusted sellers were the apothecaries who could perform impressive martial arts and wrestling

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[26] Stefani Pfeiffer, "'Still Arguing over Cost': Bargaining, Etiquette and the Modern Patient in Republican Beijing," *Asian Medicine* 1, no. 2 (2005): 355–386.

[27] In *Chunming waishi* 春明外史 [An Unofficial History of Beijing], there is an example of how urban populace of lower socio-economic status sought medical services in the 1920s: Chen Ruokuang 陈若狂, a newspaper editor, researched all the advertisements for medicines for gonorrhea and tried different drugs from folk healers, traditional drugstores, and also modern pharmacies before he was eventually sent to the hospital by a friend. Zhang Henshui 张恨水, *Chunming waishi* 春明外史(Beijing: Zhongguo xinwen chubanshe, 1985), vol. 1, 72–79.

[28] Madeleine Yue Dong, "Recycling: The Tianqiao District," in *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories*, ed. Reginald E. Zelnik (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 178–183.

[29] Ibid., 183–188.

for their potential customers. For example, Niu Maosheng 牛茂生 was a famous apothecary who always attracted a big audience by pulling an extremely hard string of a big bow with his teeth to demonstrate the credibility of his muscle-building pills (*dali wan*, 大力丸) (Plate 47).[30]

In order to make his medicines known to his target customers, Kang made a great effort to advertise at Tianqiao. Rather than performing martial arts or wrestling shows for his potential customers, Kang sponsored the best performers at Tianqiao by giving them free backdrops – on which was inscribed the name of his most characteristic pill "*Kangshi niuhuang jiedu wan*"– to decorate their shed theatres (Plate 48).[31] Although its credibility could not be evidenced by the backdrops, *Deshou tang*'s best specialty became widely known at Tianqiao, so that Kang eventually chose to open a southern branch near Tianqiao in the early 1930s.

This new *Deshou tang* store was located along the east-west main street that divided the districts of Dashilar and Tianqiao and was designed to be recognised from a distance. It was a two-storey construction which was higher than most of the buildings along the same street. Not only that; the drugstore sign was turned into a tactile relief pattern decorating the brick pillar of the balcony instead of a chain of plasters hanging beside the entrance doorway (Plate 49). On top of the storefront building, an exciting "performance" was staged every hour on the hour, in the form of a steam-train model, on which the name of *Deshou tang*'s most characteristic pill was inscribed, and which ran onto the "stage" through a hole on the parapet and across to another hole

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[30] Ibid., 189–190.

[31] Hou Baolin 侯宝林, *Hou Baolin* zizhuan 侯宝林自传 [Autobiography of Hou Baolin] (Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang People's Publishing House, 1982), 29; Wang Zhong 王忠 and Chen Faxiang 陈发祥, *Zhongwai guanggao shi* 中外广告史 [History of Chinese and Foreign Advertisement] (Changsha: Hunan University Press, 2007), 153; Xu Junjin 许俊基, *Zhongguo guanggao shi* 中国广告史 [History of Chinese Advertisement] (Beijing: Communication University of China Press, 2006), 168.

on the other side, whistling as it went (Plate 50). The dome, which functioned as a “greenroom” for the train to rest in between shows, was concealed by the raised parapet decorated with a round clock that served as the “backdrop” to this hourly “performance.” To this extent, the dome was designed to be hardly noticeable from the street, despite its utterly exotic form (Plate 50).

Through such a distinctive shop front, *Deshou tang* succeed in attracting the attention of people from a distance, and the hourly “performance” always drew a big audience, as the most famous apothecaries did at Tianqiao. This “performance,” however, was different from the shows concocted at Tianqiao. It did not aim at testifying to the effectiveness of *Deshou tang*’s medicines, but only served as a means of gathering potential customers in front of the store. Like other drugstores, *Deshou tang* established the reliability of its medicines on the learned traditions of mainstream medicine and the buyers’ personal experience. Therefore, there was no need for Kang to build up his credibility through the persuasiveness of bodily evidence.

The crowd, indeed, were very cautious when watching this “performance.” The experience of shopping at Tianqiao had developed their ability to judge. When drawing a crowd, the eye-catching *Deshou tang* “performance” motivated the crowd to compare the drugstore with the medicine dealers at Tianqiao. Although not fully convinced, the crowd would be drawn by the more affordable prices than those of other big drugstores and the less anonymous origins than those of the apothecaries at Tianqiao. Those who finally decided to give the product a try would find Kang’s medicines effective and worthy of what they had paid. In this way, Kang developed new customers and greatly enhanced his credibility over time. The popularity of Kang’s pills was evidenced by a photo taken in the 1930s, showing that two of *Deshou tang*’s most prominent pills were being sold in another smaller drugstore in Beijing (Plate 51).

Although *Deshou tang* brought western elements to its shop front, the agencies that motivated this innovation were not foreign or modern at all. Instead, it was rooted in Kang's special management and the rationales behind the trading of medicines at Tianqiao. By shortening the distance between the proprietor and the potential customers, the shop front created the conditions for exchange and trust between them that were necessary for a good business.

4.2 Silk Fabric Shops

4.2.1 A New Fashion of Silk Fabric Shops in Dashilar

Silk fabric and literacy were two defining features of the higher social class in the Imperial era. Catering to the tastes and preferences of city-dwellers of this class, silk fabric shops in Ming–Qing Beijing very often decorated their shop fronts with complex textural advertisement.[32] In this aspect, before the twentieth century, the silk fabric shops in Dashilar were not so different from those in other parts of Beijing: they decorated their shop fronts with wooden plaques and cloth banners on which they inscribed shop names, advertising slogans, and also product information (Plate 52).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, these shops in Dashilar were the first in Beijing to have created new forms of shop front that consisted of both Chinese and Western paradigms. As a result of these innovations, the use of text on their shop fronts displayed a large divergence between one shop and another: the shop fronts of *Ruifuxiang* 瑞蚨祥 and *Xiangyihao* 祥义号 saw a significant reduction in the use of text but directly attracted customers through architectural ornament; while *Ruifuxiang xihong ji* 瑞蚨祥西鸿记 (the west branch of Ruifuxiang), by contrast, took textual advertisement to a new

[32] Wu Jen-shu and Ling-ling Lien, "From Viewing to Reading: The Evolution of Visual Advertising in Late Imperial China," in *Visualising China, 1845–1965: Moving and Still Images in Historical Narratives,* eds. Christian Henriot and Wen-hsin Yeh (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 231–266.

level by turning the entire shop front into a set of billboards with more detailed content written in both traditional Chinese and English; *Qianxiangyi* 谦祥益 and *Yihexiang* 益和祥(a branch of Qianxiangyi), for their part, while changing the architectural styles of their shop fronts, inscribed the same text as they had done in the past (Plate 53).

To understand this divergence of textual advertising on their shop fronts, we first need to understand the diversity of the interiors of these silk fabric shops in Dashilar.[33] As mentioned earlier, these shops were all under the total control of their proprietors who always promised to offer their customers something distinctive. Not only deciding on the strategies for their stocks, the proprietors also prevented customers and competitors from estimating their shops' inventory: they classified their stocks according to their value and distributed them to different counters; the stocks were never displayed in the shop but would be brought out by assistants serving at a specific counter only upon a

[33] This divergence in the ways the silk fabric shops in Dashilar used text on their new shop fronts has been rarely discussed by historians. By explaining their innovations in the styles of their shop fronts as responses to the increasing Western impact on the urban life of Beijing, historians – for example, Hou Renzhi 侯仁之, Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, and Zhu Yongchun 朱永春 – simply noticed that these prominent silk fabric shops adopted the same approach of giving their shops a Western-like appearance for the purpose of advertisement. Hou and Yue noted that the new architectural forms that emerged in Dashilar in the 1900s–30s were of two categories: one attached Western architectural elements to a Chinese structure, while the other added Chinese architectural elements to a Western structure. The "foreign shop front" that was pioneered by the silk fabric shops – for example, *Ruifuxiang xihong ji* 瑞蚨祥西鸿记 (the west branch of *Ruifuxiang* silk shop), *Qianxiangyi chouduan zhuang* 谦祥益绸缎庄 (*Qianxiangyi* silk shop), etc. – was the most prominent representative of the first category. *Yanye yinhang* 盐业银行 (Yien Yieh Commercial Bank) and *Quanye chang* 劝业场 (the Store of Industrial Promotion) were significant examples of the second category. Through these examples, Hou and Yue hinted at a linear trajectory whereby the imitation of the West in architectural production was first at a spontaneous level but then became much more professional: the shop fronts of *Ruifuxiang xihongji* (1903) and *Qianxiangyi* (1915) were built earlier and by local builders who adopted the Western elements on their own terms; both *Quanye chang* (1918) and *Yanye yinhang* (1925) were designed by Shen Liyuan 沈理源, an outstanding figure of the first generation of Chinese modern architects who received their education in the West. Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 97. See also Zhu Yongchun 朱永春, "Baroque dui Zhongguo jindai jianzhu de yingxiang" 巴洛克对中国近代建筑的影响 [The Impact of Baroque on Chinese Modern Architecture], *Jianzhu xuebao* 建筑学报 [Architectural Journal], no. 3 (2000): 48.

customer's request. In this sense, each shop followed its own rules that were different from those of all other shops in the same business, and therefore, can be regarded as a *heterotopia*. Before they started to innovate their shop fronts—the entrance to their *heterotopias*—these shops had used text extensively to distinguish themselves from each other. The new shop fronts, however, not only enacted the differences of the *heterotopias* in a more visual manner, but also motivated the *heterotopias* to adjust their rules based on the proprietors' developing understandings of the divergent shop fronts through constant interactions with their customers and business rivals.

This section explains in detail the role of the new shop fronts that were built by these silk fabric shops in Dashilar in the early twentieth century. It first looks into *Ruifuxiang*, the shop that initiated the innovation of shop fronts, to understand how its new shop front conformed to its interior and facilitated its distinctive management. Based on this analysis focused on the interior of a specific *heterotopia*, the following section gives a broader view of the overall environment to show how customers responded to a shop's innovation in its shop front, how their responses motivated other shops to redefine their own *heterotopias* and rebuild their shop fronts, and, therefore, how the constant negotiations between the proprietor, the customers, and the business rivals eventually resulted in the divergence of textural advertising on the shop front.

4.2.2 *Ruifuxiang*: The Shop Front as Part of the Interior

In the late Imperial era, the success of a traditional commercial establishment was generally determined by a strong internal governance, an effective strategy for maintaining an edge over its business rivals, and excellent customer experience. Since the life of a luxury fabric business hinged on the quality of its inventory, among the silk fabric shops in Beijing all the three aspects of good business revolved around control of the inventory.

In the late nineteenth century, the business of luxury fabrics became increasingly competitive in Beijing because of the establishment of new stores.[34] Among them, the *Ruifuxiang* silk fabric shop in Dashilar was opened by Meng Luochuan 孟洛川(ca.1850–1939) from Shandong province in 1893.[35] The establishment of this shop was first based on a special strategy of selling foreign luxuries, new to Beijing's market, alongside native fabrics of different grades.[36] *Ruifuxiang*'s success, however, largely depended on its distinctive innovations in internal governance. Its success brought sufficient resources to make the store the first in Beijing to build a new form of shop front in 1901, consisting of both Chinese and Western paradigms, which would eventually help it maintain an edge over its competitors regarding their inventories and provide customers with a better shopping experience.

In terms of internal governance, *Ruifuxiang* developed a very sophisticated organisational structure to strengthen its inventory control, which eventually enabled it to grow into the best silk shop in Beijing in the year 1900. Unlike other large fabric shops in Beijing, the proprietor of *Ruifuxiang* gave up the practice of signing a contract and sharing the shop's net profit with the chief manager who hired assistants on his own terms. Instead, Meng Luochuan recognised that there were four senior assistants under the chief manager who were highly involved in *Ruifuxiang*'s inventory control: one was in charge of the warehouse, purchasing all the goods and deciding on their prices; two were the heads of the inventory arrangement on the different floors in the shop; the

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[34] Zhongguo kexueyuan jingji yanjiusuo 中国科学院经济研究所, Zhongyang gongshang xingzheng guanli ju 中央工商行政管理局, Ziben zhuyi jingji gaizao yanjiushi 资本主义经济改造研究室, *Beijing Ruifuxiang: Dianxing qiye diaocha ziliao* 北京瑞蚨祥：典型企业调查资料 [Beijing Ruifuxiang: Survey Documents of a Typical Firm] (Beijing: Sanlian Press, 1959), 9, 14–16.

[35] Before Meng Luochuan started the retail business in luxury fabric in Dashilar, he had already opened a fabric shop in Beijing, mainly selling the native cloth that was manufactured in Shandong province – cotton fabric, generally in a black colour which was often worn by populace of lower social status – from the early years of Emperor Guangxu's reign (1875–1908). Ibid., 9.

[36] Ibid.

last was responsible for the accounting office. To better align their personal interests with *Ruifuxiang*'s business, Meng Luochuan gave bonus shares not only to the chief manager but also to all the four assistant managers who had actual power over the inventory.[37]

Another unique innovation that *Ruifuxiang* made in its internal governance was the clear distinction between the tasks of the internal and external assistants.[38] The internal assistants (*nei huoji*, 内伙计) were those who had personal relationships with the Meng family and mostly had apprenticed at *Ruifuxiang*. They were considered to have total loyalty towards the proprietor and, therefore, were granted access to the stocks and allowed to help with inventory management. The external assistants (*wai huoji*, 外伙计), however, were those who had apprenticed in other large fabric shops and were hired by *Ruifuxiang* for their excellent skill in selling goods. All the external assistants were asked to wait behind the counter immediately inside the front door to cater to the customers once they entered the shop, but were given very restricted access to the inventory, because they were better connected with competing shops and, therefore, were considered less trustworthy.[39] Although the external assistants were often paid much more than the internal assistants, they were hardly given the opportunity for promotion or for gaining better control of the inventory.

Such internal governance allowed *Ruifuxiang* to align the interests of the proprietor with those of the staff who took care of the inventory; as a result, the store was more profitable and reacted much more quickly to the changing market than other silk fabric shops in Beijing. After Dashilar was burned down

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[37] Ibid., 47–50.

[38] According to the record of 1916, the overall number of assistants in *Ruifuxiang* was about 120, 44 of whom were external assistants. Ibid., 23–30.

[39] The external assistants were only given access to the native cloth. If the customer wanted to buy more expensive goods, the external assistants had to ask the internal assistants to bring out the requested products for the customers.

by the Boxers in 1900, *Ruifuxiang* immediately resumed operation by setting up a stall on the site of its old store while other shops were still waiting for a settlement. By seizing the best opportunity to resume its business, *Ruifuxiang* reconstructed its shop and defeated all its business rivals in Beijing in a very short time.[40]

As an effect of *Ruifuxiang*'s success, other large fabric shops in Beijing began to follow *Ruifuxiang* by stocking both native and foreign goods of different grades. In the photo of *Ruizengxiang* 瑞增祥—a silk fabric shop that was located outside Dashilar and so was not destroyed in 1900—we can see that it also sold silk with the best embroidery, imported woollen fabrics of different grades, and all manner of cotton fabrics in the first decade of the twentieth century (Plate 52). More directly, *Xiangyihao*—a large luxury fabric shop that was supported by bureaucratic capital—moved into Dashilar shortly after *Ruifuxiang* reopened its shop in 1900 and established its shop eastwards on the same street. *Xiangyihao* sought to emulate *Ruifuxiang*'s business and was indeed a powerful competitor: in addition to its solid financial strength and affiliation with the Qing court, it occupied a better location because more visitors came from the east end of the street.

Facing this competition, *Ruifuxiang* began to add new construction in front of its original buildings and gradually developed a new form of shop front. It first built a massive wall between the street and the forecourt for dropping off and picking up. Serving as the new shop front, this massive façade was very different from the traditional ones in terms of textual advertising. The traditional shop fronts of the silk shops often used text extensively: the shop front would state the shop's name but, more importantly, some inventory information as well, very often in the form of hanging banners (Plate 52); literary text was usually found on the posts besides the entrance doorway, which catered to the

[40] Ibid., 9–10, 14–15.

taste of the higher social class (Plate 52). The new façade of *Ruifuxiang*, however, gave up the practice of providing inventory information. Instead it replaced all the hanging banners with a wooden plaque on which was inscribed generically "genuine goods at a fair price" (*huozhen jiashi,* 货真价实) (Plate 54). Moreover, literary texts were removed from both the newly constructed façade and the original front door. Instead, the Ionic order, decorative mouldings, and marble carvings became the new attractions.[41]

In one sense, these changes in textual advertising were part of *Ruifuxiang's* strategy to prevent its business rivals from investigating its inventory. Among the large fabric shops in Dashilar, there was a tradition of sending pretend customers to rival shops to investigate their inventory.[42] Therefore, all the goods to be sold in *Ruifuxiang* were carefully wrapped in cloth or paper and stored in the counter or on the shelves, and only brought out by internal assistants upon request by the customers.[43] Nonetheless, new techniques were required after *Ruifuxiang* became the most successful shop in the industry in 1900. It was not surprising that *Ruifuxiang* became more cautious in providing inventory information on the shop front. Looking more carefully, we can find that the literary text was not simply abolished but was moved into the shop—the main couplet being moved to the other side of the front door so

[41] Although the large fabric shops heavily relied upon textual advertising on their shop fronts, there was a convention that they all displayed well-designed and finely-made lanterns to compete with each other at the Lantern Festival (Plate 52). This made the introduction of impressive ornaments a natural choice for *Ruifuxiang* as a means of replacing the extensive use of texts.

[42] According to the senior staff member Zhang Mengjiu and the later manager Meng Shaoyan, Ruifuxiang adopted an approach called "*chuang menshi*" 创门市 when it started its business in Dashilar. "*Chuang menshi*" referred to the operation of introducing a price war when a new shop started its business: a new shop usually sent pretend customers to the rival shops to investigate their inventory before it was officially opened, which enabled it to price its own products of similar quality at lower rates. Established shops would also adopt this approach to address the problem when the sales of their products declined. Ibid., 14–15.

[43] Perhaps the reception room can provide us with the most powerful image of the distance between the customer and the goods in *Ruifuxiang*: the goods were completely absent in the room; after the patron was seated, a dozen assistants would bring some well-selected goods into the room, each holding a bolt of cloth on his chest for the customer to choose at a distance. Ibid., 103–104, 106.

that it could only be read from the inside (Plate 55). Although the texts were still generic, they began to serve as a coded language in which the managers and internal assistants could communicate prices with each other: the characters of the main couplet, for example, represented the numbers from one to ten in *Ruifuxiang*'s everyday operation.[44]

In another sense, developments at *Ruifuxiang* changed the customer experience. After erecting the massive façade in front of the original buildings, *Ruifuxiang* later replaced the awning above the original entrance of the shop with an adjustable iron shelter which covered the entire forecourt and, thereby, created another roofed space in front of the shop. This roofed space played a significant role in providing better customer experience: it made the hierarchical arrangement of the interior more sophisticated and thus allowed the customers, and especially the elite ones, to better affirm their status.

To understand this feature, we first need to note that *Ruifuxiang* had developed an efficient layout for arranging its inventory in the shop in the late nineteenth century: by dividing all the goods into three levels, it separated the shop into three sections, each of which featured an independent serving counter; the customers would be guided to and seated in the right section once they informed the external assistants of their demands (Plate 56). The *qiangui* 前柜 (lit. front counter) was immediately inside the front door, where native cloth—both dyed and undyed cotton fabric—was usually purchased by less wealthy customers. The *ergui* 二柜 (lit. second counter) or *hougui* 后柜 (lit. back counter) was just behind the front counter on the ground floor, selling floral cloth and cheaper quality imported goods. The *choulou* 绸楼 (lit. silk upper

[44] Ibid., 14. From an interview with the current president and general manager of *Ruifuxiang*, Xue Shiji reported that *Ruifuxiang* developed ten sets of codes to represent the numbers one to ten and used two different sets of codes each day. "The Showroom of Ruifuxiang Silk Cloth Shop," NetEase Money, accessed January 4, 2019, http://money.163.com/09/0729/17/5FDGP45U00253I1I.html.

storey) was on the upper floor where silk, brocade and other refined merchandise was available to wealthy clients and socially prominent personages.[45]

In the architectural section, we can see that the entire store consisted of two buildings and a connecting structure between them: the two-storey building in the front was the shop; the building in the back included a warehouse on the ground floor and a special reception room right above it; the staircase to the upper floor was located in the connecting structure which featured a high roof and clerestory windows (Plate 57).[46]

This arrangement enabled the customers of higher socio-economic status to access much deeper areas in *Ruifuxiang*: while less wealthy customers were not given access to the grand staircase, more refined clients were invited to step up to it, and moreover, the most prominent patrons were served separately at the back of the upper floor. This hierarchy of socio-economic status was clearly sensed by the customers, and the regular customers of *Ruifuxiang* very often stepped into the shop to demonstrate their status and wealth. Some of these customers would be accompanied by a dozen attendants when arriving at the shop. In this case, most of the attendants would wait in the forecourt, being looked after by the external assistants. By turning the forecourt into a roofed space that separated it from the street, *Ruifuxiang* stressed the superiority of its interior over the outside and, at the same time, made its accessible depth more measurable for the customers (Plate 56). This

[45] Ibid., 47–48.

[46] This interior arrangement is inferred on the basis of historical accounts of the way the business was working in *Ruifuxiang* before 1911. *Beijing Ruifuxiang*, 4, 47–49, 103–104. This inference is different from both the present spatial arrangement of *Ruifuxiang* and Wang Shiren's analysis. Wang's analysis was based on the actual practices of *Ruifuxiang* in the 1990s. Because all the floors were used to display the goods at that time, Wang regarded the connecting structure as a significant communal space. Wang Shiren 王世仁, ed., *Zengding xuannan hongxue tuzhi* 增订宣南鸿雪图志 (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2015), vol. 2, 863.

is how the new roofed space catered to its elite customers' demand for self-esteem.

To conclude, *Ruifuxiang*'s shop front innovation was part of its efforts at inventory control: its sophisticated internal governance made it possible for *Ruifuxiang* to master sufficient resources to innovate its shop front, while the new shop front turned out to be less informative to outsiders and more dramatic in displaying the higher status of its customers; the Western-style massive facade became a reasonable choice when *Ruifuxiang* aimed at strengthening its inventory control by replacing textual advertising with visual decorations; and the specific design feature of creating a roofed space in front of the shop added further sophistication to the hierarchical arrangement of the interior. In this sense, the shop front conformed to the unique rules that had been set up by *Ruifuxiang. Ruifuxiang*'s understanding of its own shop front, however, was not static. The following section discusses how *Ruifuxiang*'s customers and business rivals responded to its new shop front, and how their constant interactions with *Ruifuxiang* motivated further creations on the shop front.

4.2.3 Business Competition, Customer Interpretation, and Evolution of Shop Fronts: From 1901 to 1925

From 1901 to 1925, *Ruifuxiang* remained the primary actor in the piece-goods industry in Dashilar despite the dramatic social and political changes taking place in Beijing. Although the major business rivals of *Ruifuxiang* changed over this turbulent period, business competition and customer interpretations of the shop front were constant among the large fabric shops in Dashilar. This section looks into two different socio-political environments in which *Ruifuxiang* competed with different rivals: from 1901 to 1911, under Imperial rule, *Ruifuxiang* mainly competed with *Xiangyihao*; from 1911 to 1925, under the newly established Republican order, another store, *Qianxiangyi*, became

Ruifuxiang's major rival. Through these two examples, I will illustrate how the shop front of *Ruifuxiang* continued to play an active role in the interactions between its business rivals and the customers, and constantly motivated further evolutions of the shop front in industry conducted in Dashilar.

Ruifuxiang versus Xiangyihao in the Imperial 1900s

In 1901, *Ruifuxiang*'s shop front innovations led to an immediate response from *Xiangyihao*, its primary competitor at that time. Wang Yongbin, an apprentice of an optical store on the same street, has recounted how *Xiangyihao* tried to prevail over *Ruifuxiang* by constructing a more imposing shop front:

> Both shops had unremarkable shop fronts in the beginning. *Ruifuxiang*, however, first enclosed a small courtyard in front of its shop and erected a great gate, making the shop front quite magnificent. Shortly after, *Xiangyi*[*hao*] removed the brick wall of its forecourt and spent a fortune in building a green-painted iron wall with an imposing gate that featured elegant ornaments. Then, *Ruifuxiang* replaced the awning with an adjustable iron shelter. Following this example*, Xiangyi*[*hao*] asked the builder to install a similar shelter and lifted it to a higher position than *Ruifuxiang*'s.[47]

While competing with *Ruifuxiang* on the shop front, *Xiangyihao* relied heavily upon imperial patronage from the early twentieth century and distinguished itself from other large fabric shops in Beijing by promising its customers that its silk products were of the exclusive quality required by the imperial court. The entrance to *Xiangyihao,* therefore, already defined the distinctive socio-economic status of the customers. When reconstructing its entrance, *Xiangyihao* highly appreciated the visual impact of *Ruifuxiang*'s new shop front and therefore replaced its own forecourt wall and gate with an imposing iron façade featuring Baroque-style ornaments (Plate 58). This new façade, however, was not a massive wall like that of *Ruifuxiang,* which stressed the

[47] Wang Yongbin 王永斌, *Da Qianmen* 大前门, 210.

experience of depth in the interior arrangement. Instead, it was penetrable and allowed the real front of the shop to be seen from the street. In this sense, *Xiangyihao* used the iron façade not as a substitute for the original shop front, but more as a subsidiary construction in front of the shop. This was also evidenced by the fact that, on the uppermost part of the façade, *Xiangyihao* only inscribed the name of the shop in a much smaller font (Plate 58).

The competition between *Ruifuxiang* and *Xiangyihao* to build new shop fronts was well-known in Dashilar. For outsiders to the shops, the new shop fronts represented the class standard that the two shops set up for their potential customers. This is evident in Wang Yongbin's interpretation of the shop front of *Ruifuxiang*:

> *Ruifuxiang*'s store is different from the usual ones, and it looks much more magnificent than *Tonren tang*'s! In the front it has a big iron gate, a broad wall, and a small square, sheltered by a tall shed made of lead, just like a big courtyard. You need to first get through this courtyard before reaching the front door. Looking from outside, it is a real big house, just like a mansion, an estate! There was an old saying in Beijing: if the store is famous, it will take advantage of the customer; if the customer is prestigious, instead he will take advantage of the store! If you come to a store by car and accompanied by many attendants, they will then treat you very well; if the store is big, ordinary customers would not dare to come, because they know that they will feel obliged to buy if they did come, and it would be impossible to just get around without buying. That's why there was the saying. … [A]lthough *Ruifuxiang* does not discriminate customers by their income, ordinary people would not go there.[48]

Ruifuxiang, however, had mixed feelings about this interpretation: the new shop front indeed catered to the demand for self-esteem from the elite customers, but also made it difficult to inform other potential customers of the great diversity of its inventory. This was quite a disadvantage in appealing to a broader market, given that *Xiangyihao* had been enjoying a special edge in the high-end silk products market through its court connection. Taking this into

[48] Wang Yongbin 王永斌, *Da Qianmen* 大前门, 207–208.

consideration, *Ruifuxiang* made further innovations on the shop front when it established a western branch on the same street in 1903.

The shop front of the west branch of *Ruifuxiang* had the same structure as the main store – there was a massive wall that replaced the original shop front and a roofed forecourt which helped to enhance the experience of depth. Unlike the main store, however, the shop front of the west branch took textual advertisement to a new level by turning the massive wall into a set of billboards (Plate 59). The text on the billboards stressed that the shop had experienced representatives in China and foreign countries who could order and select goods of distinctive qualities for its customers. The text also included more detailed information about the best products, to show the diversity of its inventory in the top grade. Moreover, the juxtaposition of the Chinese and English texts made it plain to the customers that both native and imported goods were available in the shop. Not limited to the texts, such juxtaposition was also exhibited in the shop front's architectural elements: for example, the generic couplets were directly attached to Ionic columns.

This analysis shows how the new shop front of *Ruifuxiang* played an active role in its competition with *Xiangyihao* and its interaction with the customers in the first decade of the twentieth century. *Ruifuxiang*'s series of innovations in its shop front was answered by the effort of *Xiangyihao* to renovate its own shop front, creating a competition that strengthened *Xiangyihao*'s image of speciality in the highest end of the market while alienating from *Ruifuxiang* potential customers in the broader market. To address this concern, *Ruifuxiang* further innovated its shop front at the new store to appeal to the potential market. With revolution taking place around the end of the first and the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, this interaction among the stores, their shop fronts, and the customers would continue, even though the players would have changed.

Ruifuxiang versus Qianxiangyi in the Republican 1910s

After the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911, Beijing witnessed significant changes in its business environment. As the Inner City became fully open to commercial and entertainment activities, *Wangfujing* 王府井 and *Xidan* 西单 developed into two commercial centres, both of which featured modern shops that were established by foreign companies.[49] This development greatly challenged the commercial superiority of Dashilar. Although Dashilar maintained one of the three most important commercial centres in Republican Beijing, the business of some long-established shops therein inevitably declined with the fall of their main patrons: for example, the Qing court and Manchurian aristocrats. *Xiangyihao* was one of these shops that had relied heavily on the court and then inevitably declined after 1911.[50]

Ruifuxiang, however, survived the dramatic changes and kept growing rapidly until 1925.[51] The success of *Ruifuxiang*'s business could be attributed to the timely and appropriate adjustment that it made in its inventory strategies.[52] At first, *Ruifuxiang* realised that all grades of fabric were in great demand and sold much better than other products. Although *Ruifuxiang* continued to sell the less popular products in order to demonstrate the diversity of its inventory, it began to unload the stock of relatively slow-moving products like bedding and underclothes and to invest more in cloth fabrics instead. *Ruifuxiang* also sensed the rising trend of Occidentalism in society, leading to the boost in market demand for foreign and novel goods. In response, *Ruifuxiang* increased the proportion of imported fabrics in its inventory and emphasised the novelty of the patterns more than the cost when purchasing foreign fabrics.

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[49] Madeleine Yue Dong, *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 147–152.

[50] *Beijing Ruifuxiang,* 15.

[51] Ibid., 3, 9–11. Chan, "The Organizational Structure of the Traditional Chinese Firm and Its Modern Reform," 223–226.

[52] *Beijing Ruifuxiang*, 81–82.

It also began to design exclusive patterns for silk fabrics. Moreover, to advertise the latest products, from 1911 *Ruifuxiang* started to display part of its inventory in the two shops in Dashilar.[53] These strategies allowed *Ruifuxiang* to maintain its advantage over other fabric shops, with the result that its goods were commonly considered to indicate a high socio-economic status. This was evidenced by the fact that the bureaucrats, warlords, and newly emerging bourgeoisie often shopped at *Ruifuxiang* for gifts for their superiors.[54]

Qianxiangyi replaced *Xiangyihao* as *Ruifuxiang*'s primary competitor from 1911. *Qianxiangyi* established its oldest shop outside the Zhengyang Gate in the 1820s–40s and opened a branch, *Yihexiang*, on the Jewellery Market Street within Dashilar in 1882, both of which were to be destroyed during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. Seeking an opportunity to relocate its main store to Dashilar's Commercial Street where *Ruifuxiang* and *Xiangyihao* stood, *Qianxiangyi* did not reconstruct the shops immediately but chose to open a northern branch near the Bell and Drum Towers within the Inner City in 1902. As shown in the photograph, although *Qianxiangyi* built its shop in the traditional way, it began to follow *Ruifuxiang* by stocking both native and foreign goods of different grades (Plate 60). After all its efforts to move into the Dashilar Commercial Street were thwarted by *Ruifuxiang*, *Qianxiangyi* eventually managed to reconstruct its main shop at *Langfang toutiao* 廊坊头条, three streets north of Dashilar's Commercial Street, and refurbished *Yihexiang*, the Jewellery Market Street branch, around 1915.

When *Qianxiangyi* constructed its stores in Dashilar, *Ruifuxiang* had already adapted its inventory strategies to the changes in the market. Because its inventory tried to cater for the occidental fashion, the western elements on the

[53] Ibid., 106–107.
[54] Ibid., 104.

shop fronts of *Ruifuxiang* began to be viewed as defining features among the customers. *Qianxiangyi* highly appreciated how *Ruifuxiang* took advantage of the changing market and regarded the innovative shop fronts as part of its efforts to advertise its foreign and novel inventories. Therefore, the main *Qianxiangyi* store clearly imitated the novel elements in *Ruifuxiang*'s shop front, by erecting a massive wall in front of the forecourt and adding an iron shelter above it (Plate 61). The branch of *Qianxiangyi* at the Jewellery Market Street, *Yihexiang,* however, did not have enough space to create such a roofed forecourt in front of the original building. Instead, it gave the shop front a more apparently western appearance and also introduced western architectural elements to the interior of the shop (Plate 62).

This analysis shows how the innovative shop front of *Ruifuxiang* continued to motivate new interpretations among its customers and innovations in shop fronts among its business rivals. *Ruifuxiang*'s adaptation of its inventory strategy to the changes in the business environment facilitated an interpretation of its shop front consistent with its leading position in the occidental fashion trend. To compete with *Ruifuxiang,* its rivals responded first by imitating the shop front, and second by adapting the occidental concept in their shop fronts and interiors to specific architectural conditions. Although the political and social environment had changed, the interpretation by customers and the interaction among the customers and the stores were still instrumental in the constant innovation of shop fronts in Dashilar.

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, through the traditional Chinese drugstores and silk fabric shops, I have demonstrated how the shop fronts played a vital role in forming the socio-spatial fabric of Dashilar.

In each case, the shop front acted as a productive mediator in forming the *interiority* of the shop. Although it was initially constructed by the proprietor as an instrument to facilitate his business, the shop front was constantly observed and codified by his customers and business rivals. It was the specificities of the proprietor's construction and the multiple codifications by customers and business rivals that together formed the distinctive rules of the shop.

Through the ontologies of these shop fronts, we can see that shops in Dashilar formalised their heterotopic characters by responding to the heterotopic characters of others. Responding to the customers' codifications of its shop front, *Tongren tang* rendered contingently-constructed architectural features into unique gestures to assist with communicating its specialist knowledge and distinctive traditions. Responding to the trading of medicine at Tianqiao, *Deshou tang* introduced an alien performance to its shop front to attract marginal customers. Responding to the ever-changing business environment, *Ruifuxiang* evolved the shop fronts of its stores to encourage a consistent and full spectrum of demand among customers. While these shops incorporated heterogeneities into their shop fronts and organisations, their innovations were also influential to others and constituted their heterotopic characters. In this way, heterogeneities are constantly interwoven in the socio-spatial fabrics of Dashilar.

It is noteworthy that the shops in Dashilar operated differently from those in other parts of Beijing. For one reason, the Qing Court constrained commercial activities in the Inner City. As a result, most of the markets in the Inner City only catered to residents' basic needs for essentials and the shops were often impermanent and small in size (Plate 63).[55] For another reason, as I have discussed in Chapter Three, the congregation of playhouses in Dashilar not only attracted visitors from all walks of life but also made them more responsive

[55] Madeleine Yue Dong, *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003),145-147.

to their desires. This urged the shops in Dashilar to navigate their niches and show their hospitality to customers with diverse backgrounds (Plate 64).

In this context, customers coming to Dashilar often expected that their special desires could and would be fulfilled. Their varying and novel desires constantly brought heterogeneities to Dashilar—as soon as a specific desire became popular and persistent, it would be formalised in the organisations of specific shops. The shop front as one of the vehicles to communicate desires also played a vital role in cultivating new markets in Dashilar. This can be best illustrated by the development of *Liulichang* 琉璃厂, one major commercial street in the west of Dashilar, which was particularly known for its antique bookstores.

Because of the congregation of intellectuals in Dashilar, there developed a shared desire for rare knowledge. Driven by such a desire, more and more book merchants began to collect and sell ancient books. Their shops were usually organised as study rooms where customers had the freedom to inspect their stocks. Relying on separate networks of suppliers, each bookstore organised its bookshelves according to the proprietor's distinctive expertise (Plate 65). To navigate among these bookstores, one had to know enough about the logic behind the highly complex and personalised arrangements, normally by talking to the proprietors.

Although bookstores would change frequently due to insecure supplies, customers with the desire for rare knowledge constantly reconstructed the knowledge of ancient books by recording their visiting experiences. In these records, the shop fronts were described generically and served as an index of the knowledge of ancient books.[56] The cross-referencing between the shop

[56] This group of records modelled on *Lilichang shusi ji* 琉璃厂书肆记 [Record of the Liulichang bookstalls] (1769), written by Li Wenzao 李文藻 (1730–1778).

fronts and the records, therefore, made the buying and selling of ancient books at *Liulichang* continue to take place in the same way. This growing stream of customers, however, prevented the proprietors from innovating on their shop fronts. As the shop fronts remained insufficiently informative for the visitors who were not familiar with those records, the bookstores became increasingly exclusive to laymen. In this way, *Liulichang* evolved into a specialised market for ancient books (Plate 66) and cultivated the subjects of bibliography and "evidential research" (*kaojuxue,* 考据学).

Chapter Five
Mustard Seed Garden

The residential buildings in Dashilar created distinctive private spheres because the itinerant dwellers whom Dashilar once accommodated, from erudite literati to enigmatic courtesans, lived their spectacular lives, developed their own philosophies of living, and set out their homes in the context of all other homes on their own terms. Such distinctiveness allowed these residential buildings to become something of an autobiographical embodiment and communication of the virtuosity, well-travelled nature and "otherness" of their inhabitants. Therefore, these features were extensively involved in the narratives by both locals and visitors. These narratives often started from specific residences in Dashilar, and then sought and appreciated for the traces that former and later owners and sojourners had left in the ownership and architectural arrangement of these places. Through these very narratives the residential buildings in Dashilar became *heterotopias*, constantly communicating with and influencing many other places.

Li Yu's 李渔 (1611–1680) Mustard Seed Garden (*Jiezi yuan* 芥子园) is one of these narratives, which rendered a residential property at *Hanjia tan* 韩家潭, a small alley in south Dashilar, a prominent heritage from the late eighteenth century. As one of the most important intellectual entrepreneurs of his time and a pioneer in Chinese theatrical theory and garden design, Li Yu travelled to Beijing with his household theatre troupe in the 1660s–1670s. Over one century after Li Yu's short stays in Beijing, a local gazetteer, *Chenyuan shilüe* 宸垣识略 (*A Brief View to the Capital*, 1788), formalised for the first time his temporary accommodation in Beijing: it was a property at *Hanjia tan* hosting the *Guangzhou huiguan* (native-place lodge of Guangzhou Prefecture) at that

time; and it had the same name as Li Yu's garden residence in Nanjing.[1] This narrative, however, is mythic and legendary. As historians have indicated, there are insufficient contemporary records of Li Yu concerning his residence in Beijing to inform us of either its accurate location or its name, and it is also highly unlikely that Li Yu had built a garden residence during his short stays.[2]

Despite its mythic and legendary quality, this narrative of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden has been repeatedly included in later gazetteers of Beijing. Not only that; its influence has persisted well up to the present. A stele recently erected at *Hanjia tan* still highlights Li Yu as an itinerant dweller whose Mustard Seed Garden at the alley was later converted into *Guangzhou huiguan*. It seems to remind both locals and visitors that Li Yu's Garden is strongly believed to have once played and should still play a significant role in Dashilar.

In this chapter, I will look into this apocryphal story of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden to explore the complex relations that have made the property at *Hanjia tan* important as a *heterotopia*. I first give a more detailed description of this apocryphal story and distinguish the perspective of this research from that of conventional historical investigations. Then, I explain how the itinerant dweller Li Yu and his Mustard Seed Garden in Nanjing were interwoven with the local history of Dashilar. By revealing the emergence of a new community who shared the same interest in commercial theatre and affirmed themselves as "dedicated opera fans" by commenting on the talents of cross-dressing actors,

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[1] Wu Changyuan 吴长元, *Chenyuan shilüe* 宸垣识略 [A Brief View of the Capital], The Universal Library Project, accessed March 13, 2018, https://archive.org/details/02086757.cn. In extant scholarly writing in English, the title of this book is commonly written as "*Chenyuan shilüe*." Nonetheless, *Chenyuan zhilüe* might be a more accurate reading of this title. There are many gazetteers entitled *zhilüe* 志略, and 识 and 志 are interchangeable. For example, even though it was written as *shilüe* in the case of 新疆识略 (Records of Xinjiang), it reads *"Xinjiang zhilüe."*

[2] Li Hongbin 李鸿斌, "Li Yu yu Beijing yuanlin" 李渔与北京园林 [Li Yu and Classical Garden in Beijing], *Zhongguo yuanlin* 中国园林 8, no. 4 (1992): 37–39; Cao Xun 曹汛, "Zouchu wuqu, gei Li Yu yige dinglun" 走出误区，给李渔一个定论 [Eliminating Misunderstanding: Giving A Conclusion of Li Yu], *Jianzhushi* 建筑师 [The Architect], no. 130 (2007): 93–100.

this apocryphal story will help us to grasp the reality of south Dashilar in the eighteenth century.

Based on this understanding, I further look into the long-established link between Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden and *Guangzhou huiguan*. By examining the writings of the members of *Guangzhou huiguan*, I suggest that they interwove this story of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden in their narratives about the *huiguan*, first seeing the story as part of the "strange" reality of south Dashilar until the nineteenth century, and then to stress a distinct identity in the twentieth century. In this way, the Mustard Seed Garden and *Guangzhou huiguan* became a *hybrid heritage*: the *Guangzhou huiguan* wrote the *heterotopia* of Li Yu as a further dimension of its own *heterotopia*. Despite the changes in ownership, function and even physical appearance, this *hybrid heterotopic heritage* is recurrently present as an apocryphal story and is to be incorporated into the new reality of every successive ontology of Dashilar. By seeing the native-place lodges in Dashilar as *hybrid heterotopic heritages*, we can further observe how they form communities in Beijing differently from the way they operate in other cities, such as Shanghai.

5.1 A Convinced Displacement of the Mustard Seed Garden

At *Hanjia hutong* 韩家胡同 or *Hanjia tan* 韩家潭, a quiet alley in south Dashilar, a recently-erected stele stands quietly and unobtrusively in front of the intricate façade of a renovated two-story residential building (Plate 67). Seen from a distance, the stele conceals itself among everyday objects. Seen more closely, however, the inscription on the stele highlights the legends of the alley:

> Starting from *Shaanxi Lane* 陕西巷 in the east and ending at *Tangzi Street* 堂子街 in the west, the alley is 360 meters long and 5.7 meters wide. *Hanjia hutong* 韩家胡同 used to be known as *Hanjia tan* 韩家潭. It is said that this place was near the *Liangshui River* 凉水河 in the Ming

Dynasty, on the east bank of which slushy puddles were often found.[3] According to a Qing Dynasty account in the *Guangxu Shuntian Prefecture Gazetteer* 光绪顺天府志, this alley is called "Family Han's Puddle" 韩家潭 instead of "Humble Reed Puddle" 寒葭潭 for accommodating Han Tan 韩菼, a scholar and high official from Jiangsu Province who died in 1704.[4] This name remained unchanged until 1965 when the Municipality officially replaced it with *Hanjia hutong*. It is recorded in *Chenyuan shilüe* (A Brief View to the Capital) that Li Yu 李渔, [with the courtesy name] Liweng 笠翁, a famous theatre theorist and writer in the early years of the Qing Emperor Kangxi, settled his *Jiezi yuan* 芥子园 (Mustard Seed Garden) at this alley, which then became the *Guangdong huiguan* 广东会馆 (The native-place lodge of Guangzhou Prefecture). The former Beijing No. 95 Middle School was at the original site of *Jiezi yuan*.[5] It is testified that Li Yu's garden villa *Jiezi yuan* was originally located in Nanjing. *Tengyin zaji* 藤阴杂记 (Miscellaneous Notes Taken in the the Shade of Vines) records that *Wang Wenzhuang* 王文庄 also lodged here.[6] There were over twenty southern-troupe brothels along this alley, many of which were quite famous in history, such as *Huancai ge* 环采阁, *Jinmei lou* 金美楼, *Manchun yuan* 满春园, *Jinfeng lou* 金凤楼, *Yanchun lou* 燕春楼,

[3] The accurate location of the Liangshui River remained unknown until two seventeenth-century texts, *Chunming mengyu lu* 春明梦余录 and *Tiangfu guangji* 天府广记, indicated that its water was introduced into *Liang yuan* 梁园 (The Garden of Liang) and formed the famous scenery of its garden. According to this account, the River is inferred as the moat of Jin's old capital (*Jin zhongdu* 金中都). Located on the eastern edge of *Liang yuan*, the site of *Hanjia tan* is then recorded as low-lying land, and, at least until the seventeenth century, puddles surrounded by reeds could be found there. Sun Chengze 孙承泽, *Chunming mengyu lu* 春明梦余录 (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1976); *Tiangfu guangji* 天府广记 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1982), 567–568. See also Beijing Water Authority, "Mingdai jisai de Liangshuihe ji heming youlai" 明代记载的凉水河及河名由来 [Liangshui River in the Records of the Ming Dynasty and the Origin of its Name], accessed November 27, 2019, http://swj.beijing.gov.cn/bjwater/300795/swz/swh/324626/index.html.

[4] These two names are homophones. The original name "Humble Reed Puddle" was chosen in light of the site's specific topographical features. Although "Family Han's Puddle" became a more recognisable name from the early Qing onwards, this original name was not completely replaced or abandoned. For instance, Cheng Jinfang 程晋芳 (1718–1784) used the original name "Humble Reed Puddle" in his poem recording a nostalgic visit to his former residence at *Hanjia tan* to see blooming lilacs. Similarly, Chen Lianhen 陈莲痕 used "Humble Reed Puddle" in his book *Jinghua chunmenglu* 京华春梦录, a collection of short stories published in 1925.

[5] Beijing No. 95 Middle School was abolished in 2002.

[6] *Tengyin zaji* 藤阴杂记 [Notes under the Shade of Vines] was written by Dai Lu 戴璐 (1739–1806) and published in 1796. Wang Wenzhuang 王文庄 is the posthumous name of Wang Jihua 王际华 (1717–1776), who acted as Minister of Revenue in Qianlong's reign.

Meixian yuan 美仙院, *Qingyuanchun* 庆元春, etc.[7] *Hanjia tan* also lodged the *Sanqing* Troupe 三庆班 when it arrived in Beijing to perform for the Emperor Qianlong for his eightieth birthday.[8] More than sixty Peking Opera performers lived in this alley. Some celebrated ones included Liu Gansan 刘赶三 (*chou*), Bai Yunsheng 白云生 (*sheng*), Wang Qinnong 王琴侬 (*dan*), and Song Fushou 宋福寿 (*dan*).[9] The Taiping Peking Opera Troupe 太平京剧团 set up at *Hanjia tan* from the 1950s, with Tan Fuying 谭富英 as its Head and Qiu Shengrong 裘盛戎 as Deputy Head.[10] *Liyuan gonghui* 梨园公会 (Theatrical Guild) was located at No. 36 *Hanjia tan*.[11]

A reader of this inscription can be easily overwhelmed with the enumerated names, but she would definitely get the hint that the stories around these names are crucial for understanding the mundane buildings along the alley. Among these stories, the one about Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden appears to be salient because of its rich connections with many other entities mentioned in the inscription. It is directly related to the *Guangzhou huiguan*, Beijing No. 95 Middle School, and Li Yu's garden villa in Nanjing. Not only that; by emphasising Li Yu's role as a "famous theatre theorist and writer," this inscription also hints that he is somehow related to the rise of theatrical performance and the many celebrated figures of the Peking Opera.

This claimed Mustard Seed Garden in south Dashilar (Plate 68), however, cannot be confirmed by testimony. Li Yu visited Beijing twice during the reign

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[7] The prostitutes in Southern-troupe brothels were all from Jiangnan District, an area immediately to the south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River. Southern-troupe brothels were generally first-class brothels.

[8] It was in the year 1790 that the troupes travelled to Beijing and performed for Emperor Qianlong's eightieth birthday.

[9] The roles on the Peking Opera stage fall into four major categories: *sheng*, *dan*, *jing*, *chou*. The inscription mentions the celebrated names along with the specific categories they are famous for.

[10] Tan's family had lived at No.1 *Dawailangying hutong* 大外廊营胡同 in south Dashilar for 130 years before moving out in 1968. Qiu Shengrong used to live at No.215 *Xiheyan jie* 西河沿街 in north Dashilar.

[11] The inscription tells us nothing about the erection of this stele. Therefore, it is unknown who built it, when, and for what purpose. The carving is rather shoddy, and the text displays poor grammar.

of Emperor Kangxi. The first visit was only a short stop on his journey to Shaanxi in 1666, and the second lasted about nine months from the early summer of 1673 to mid-spring of 1674. Although he enjoyed creating inscriptions for architecture or landscapes that impressed him, Li Yu only wrote one couplet for his temporary residence in Beijing: "Wearing coarse cloth among the embroidered (绣衮丛中衣褐士), using a stick on the young's field (少年场上杖藜人)".[12] This couplet, unfortunately, can testify neither to the accurate location of Li Yu's temporary accommodation in Beijing nor to its title as the "Mustard Seed Garden."

Based on textual research, historians such as Li Hongbin and Cao Xun have questioned the authenticity of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden in Beijing. In addition to the lack of contemporaneous records, Li Hongbin argues that Li Yu only lived on others' hospitality and rewards for his inscriptions when lodging in Beijing and that, therefore, it was highly unlikely that he could manage to afford the construction of a private garden within such a short time. Accordingly, he denies Li Yu's actual design practice in Beijing and regards "Mustard Seed Garden" as simply the name of Li Yu's residence, displaced from Nanjing to Beijing.[13]

The architectural historian Cao Xun has also discovered the mythic and legendary quality of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden in Dashilar, along with that of two other gardens in Beijing, *Banmu yuan* 半亩园 and *Hui yuan* 惠园, which are also believed to have been designed by Li Yu. In the last paragraph of his article, Cao raises a remarkable question: why did the apocryphal stories about Li Yu's gardens particularly flourish in Beijing at the end of the eighteenth century and continue to influence further narratives until the Republican era?

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[12] Li Yu 李渔, "Jingdi zishu" 京邸自署 [My Couplet for My Residence in Beijing], in *Liweng yijiayan wenji* 笠翁一家言文集 [Liweng's Independent Words Collection]*, Li Yu quanji* 李渔全集 [The Complete Work of Li Yu] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1992), vol. 1, 262.

[13] Li, "Li Yu yu Beijing yuanlin," 38.

After comparing Li Yu's work with some brilliant Ming-dynasty predecessors and early-Qing contemporaries, Cao believes that Li Yu's insights on garden design are generally overvalued. Therefore, he simply concludes that Li Yu's growing fame demonstrated the decline of the Empire and the Chinese Classical Garden.[14] But this conclusion is not convincing. The apocryphal story of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden only mentions the accurate location and the name of the garden, without giving any description of its physical features. To this extent, it undermines Cao's conclusion; for, if the displacement of the "Mustard Seed Garden" was aimed at expressing admiration for Li Yu's achievement in garden design, it paradoxically illustrates his virtuosity through a "garden", the delicacy of which has neither been recorded in a text nor been visible on site.

Unlike historical research, my investigation does not focus on the authenticity of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden at *Hanjia tan*. Instead, it attempts to grasp its rich connections with many other entities in Dashilar and thereby to identify its role as an urban agency and *actor* in formulating the urbanity therein. In this sense, I regard this Mustard Seed Garden at *Hanjia tan* as a convinced displacement and speculate that the long-established tradition of this story informs part of the existential order of Dashilar. In the following section, I will explore how the itinerant dweller Li Yu and his Mustard Seed Garden in Nanjing were interwoven with the local history of Dashilar.

5.2 The Mustard Seed Garden as an Apocryphal Story

The earliest textual account of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden in Beijing appears in *Chenyuan shilüe*, a book about Beijing's history and geography edited by Wu Changyuan 吴长元 and published in 1788. In this account, Wu describes the Mustard Seed Garden as a place of historical interest:

[14] Cao, "Zouchu wuqu, gei Li Yu yige dinglun," 98–100.

> *Jiezi yuan* (the Mustard Seed Garden) is located at *Hanjia tan*. During the early years of Emperor Kangxi's reign, Li Liweng (Li Yu) from *Qiantang* (Zhejiang Province) used to lodge here. At present, it is the [*Guangzhou*] *huiguan* (the native-place lodge of Guangzhou Prefecture).
>
> Changyuan's explanatory notes: Liweng's *Jiezi yuan* is at the provincial capital of Jiangning (Nanjing). It runs a business famous for three volumes of a painting manual. His residence in Beijing is of the same name.[15]

Wu Changyuan compiled *Chenyuan shilüe* based on two early books. The first one was a local gazetteer, *Rixia jiuwen* 日下旧闻 (*Hearsay of Old Matters from Under the Sun*), written by Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊(1629–1709) and first printed in 1688.[16] The second one was (*Qinding) Rixia jiuwen kao* （钦定）日下旧闻考 [(Imperially Endorsed) Investigations of *Hearsay of Old Matters from Under the Sun*], "a geographical treatise compiled by the imperial order and under the supervision of Yu Mingzhong 于敏中 (1714–1779), Dou Guangnai 窦光鼐 (1720–1795) and Zhu Yun 朱筠 (1729–1781)"[17] and finished in 1774. Neither of these two early books, however, had mentioned Li Yu's temporary residence in Beijing. Therefore, it was Wu Changyuan who formalised this story and published it to the local gazetteer of Beijing.

It is interesting that although *Rixia jiuwen* (1688) was compiled soon after Li Yu's visits to Beijing (1666, 1673–1674), it did not mention anything about his journey or temporary residence. What physical evidence should one have expected? Why, then, are Li Yu's visits seen to be retrospectively important

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[15] Wu, *Chenyuan shilüe*.

[16] "The term *rixia* 日下 'under the sun' means in the capital Beijing. [This] term [was] used by the Tang-period (618–907) writer Wang Bo 王勃 (650-676) for the then-capital Chang'an 长安 (modern Xi'an 西安, Shaanxi) in his essay *Tengwangge xu* 滕王閣序." Ulrich Theobald, "*Rixia jiuwen* 日下旧闻 and *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下旧闻考," ChinaKnowledge.de – An Encyclopaedia on Chinese History, Literature and Art, published Nov 21, 2013, http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Science/rixiajiuwen.html.

[17] Ibid.

from the 1780s onwards? What is Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden saying about culture and politics and, hence, the nature of the *heterotopia* for Wu Changyuan?

By looking at Wu Changyuan's life experience, we can gain insight into his particular interest in Li Yu. Wu travelled from *Qiantang* (Zhejiang Province), the native-place of Li Yu, to Beijing in 1773 and sojourned in the capital for over a decade. During his stay in Beijing, Wu lived by collecting, editing and publishing ancient books and ran his own publishing house "*Chibei caotang* 池北草堂." As an intellectual outside the bureaucratic system, Wu was the close friend of Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 (1728–1814), an important bibliophile and publisher; he also associated with the library officials who were compiling the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全书 (*Complete Library in Four Sections*), such as Yu Ji 余集 (1738–1823), Shao Jinhan 邵晋涵 (1743–1796), Liu Yong 刘墉 (1719–1804), and Wang Chang 王昶 (1724–1806). During his stay in Beijing, Wu was interested in visiting commercial playhouses with his friends. Three years before he published *Chenyuan shilüe*, in 1785, Wu Changyuan, catering to the rising market, compiled *Yanlan xiaopu* 燕兰小谱 (*A Brief Register of the Orchids of Yan*), a guide to attending theatrical performances in Beijing. After its publication, this book enjoyed high popularity among the opera fans of Qing Beijing and initiated a new subgenre of literary writing, *huapu* 花谱 (flower registers): texts that evaluated the looks and talents of opera performers.[18]

Such life experience of Wu Changyuan echoes that of Li Yu, who had lived a century earlier. As a well-educated man with ambitions for official success, Li Yu was forced to come to terms with a flickering and fugitive self in his thirties

[18] This description of Wu Changyuan's life experience is based on Chen Zhiyong's historical investigation. Chen Zhiyong 陈志勇, "Yanlan xiaopu zuozhe Anle shanqiao kao" 《燕兰小谱》作者安乐山樵考 [Investigations About Anle shanqiao, the Author of *A Brief Register of the Orchids of Yan*], *Xiqu yishu* 戏曲艺术 [Journal of National Academy of Chinese Theatre Arts] 36, no. 1 (2015): 54–59.

after the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644. After taking refuge for a few years in the mountains near Lanxi 兰溪, Zhejiang Province, Li Yu finally came out of seclusion and embarked on a career of innovative cultural entrepreneurship: he wrote, edited and published across genres for the market, travelled all over the country to the houses of wealthy patrons, designed gardens on commission, and directed his own troupe in theatrical performances.

The similarities between Wu Changyuan and Li Yu in terms of life experience allow us to speculate on Wu's particular interest in Li Yu and the apocryphal stories about him. Nevertheless, this is still insufficient to explain why and how this displacement of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden turned out to be convincing to Wu Changyuan. To understand the rationality and necessity of this displacement, we need to first verify the "portability" of Li Yu's Garden.

5.2.1 The Mustard Seed Garden: A "Portable" Garden

The Name of the Garden Embodies Li Yu's Virtuosity of Dwelling Under the Background of Relocation

Throughout his life, Li Yu made constant efforts to affirm his self by building his own garden villas, because for Li Yu owning a place did not simply mean possessing it physically, but rather, developing a personalised knowledge of it, a virtuosity of dwelling. Based on this understanding, Li Yu viewed the self-authored name as the "property deed" of his garden and, therefore, used it as a representation of his cultural productions in general.

This emphasis on the name of the garden should be read against a backdrop of relocation. It was first elaborated in Li Yu's early-1650s essay "*Maishan quan*" 卖山券 (The Deed of Sale for a Mountain).[19] This essay was written after

[19] Li Yu 李渔, "*Maishan quan*" 卖山券 [The Deed of Sale for a Mountain], in *Liweng yijiayan wenji* 笠翁一家言文集, 128–129.

Li Yu was driven to sell his first garden villa, Yi Garden (*Yi yuan* 伊园), which he built at the Yi Hill 伊山, near his ancestral village in the 1640s, to pay a debt. This reluctant relocation caused Li Yu to speculate on the question of how a physical place can be truly owned, and to develop his understanding of a virtuosity of dwelling that is to be embodied by the name of his garden.

At the outset of his essay, Li Yu stresses the difference between ownership of the mountain and possession of it. He argues that buying the mountain with money is just physically possessing it rather than owning it; ownership is only granted to the possessor based on the extent to which her extraordinary virtue and remarkable writing can allow her to come to terms with the nuances of the mountain:

> Money can buy the woods and stones on the mountain, but cannot change the soul of the mountain; it can buy the mountain's body, but not its name. Then, how could someone truly bear the name of the mountain? The answer is: it depends on one's unsurpassed virtue and extraordinary acting, and one's magnificent poetic and literatrary creation. If these are sufficiently valuable to match it (the soul of the mountain), then he can truly claim the mountain under his name. Although time would have passed and things would have changed, the mountain's owner will not change.
>
> 青铜白镪能购其木石，不能易其精灵；能贸其肢体，不能贸其姓名。然则恃何以居之？曰：恃绝德畸行，瑰玮之诗文。其价值足以相当，则此山遂改易姓字、竭精毕能以归之，虽历古今、变沧桑，不二其主。[20]

By enumerating some of the distinguished historical figures, including Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361) and Su Shi 苏轼 (1037–1101), who have made particular mountains well-known through their creative intellectual activities, Li Yu stresses that the nuances that they created remain comprehensible over time to those who engage with the mountains physically:

> As soon as they pass through these mountains, merchants and officials as well as woodcutters and shepherds, all can sort out the names of

[20] Ibid., 128.

> these men [the historical figures who have made the mountains well-known for their practices] without asking others.
>
> 自商贾仕宦以及樵畀牧竖，经其地则绎其名，不俟问津而后识。[21]

Following this discussion, Li Yu makes a very serious declaration of his ownership of Yi Garden, asserting that his writings have constituted some of its nuances and made them intelligible to others. He reminds later possessors that they are not yet the true owner of the hill even though they have obtained the property deed; if they would like to declare their ownership, they must then apply their ingenuity to dealing with the nuances of the mountain and make their innovations widely circulated:

> It is not difficult if you want to thoroughly change the ownership[22]: [you] just need to climb or circle the hill and search out poems, ensure that they are stranger and more remarkable than mine, grant them long life by carving them onto printing blocks, and distribute them among people. Only then will an observer say, "Yi Hill does not belong to Li [Yu] anymore, he sold it to someone else."
>
> 子欲鼎革无难，其急登高而作赋，绕匝而寻诗，务使离奇瑰玮出余上，寿诸梨枣，胫翼人间，俾见者曰："伊山不属李子矣，售得其人矣。"[23]

In this message to the later possessors, Li Yu stresses that physical engagement with the place is a prerequisite to constituting its nuances. Based on embodied knowledge of the place, one would then become able to depict it in an extraordinary way. If the description holds a value fit to be distributed and communicated widely among people, its constant popularity will grant the author the ownership of the place. In this sense, how the owner calls and reads the place—the virtuosity that has its roots in dwelling—substitutes for the deed in stating its ownership.

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[21] Ibid., 128. This translation is by Sarah E. Kile with minor amendments. Sarah Kile, "Toward an Extraordinary Everyday: Li Yu's (1611–1680) Vision, Writing, and Practice" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2013), 43–44.

[22] The term "鼎革 *dingge"* literally means "change of the ruler of a state."

[23] Ibid, 129. This translation is by Sarah E. Kile with amendments. Kile, "Toward an Extraordinary Everyday," 46.

The importance of name as the "deed" indicating Li Yu's true ownership is also embodied in his Mustard Seed Garden. In 1667, Li Yu began to plan for his Mustard Seed Garden on a site of less than a half-acre in the south-eastern suburb of Nanjing. One year after the Garden was put in place, Li Yu composed a set of couplets to characterise some of the main sites within the Garden. In the short prologue to these couplets, Li Yu claimed his ownership of the Garden by introducing its name:

> [Mustard Seed Garden] is my villa in Jinling (Nanjing). Its site is only a hillock. I therefore, call it "Mustard Seed" to delineate its minuteness. People come and go, finding [my hillock] somewhat intricate like a mountain and, accordingly, interpreting [the name] as "a mustard seed admitting Mount Meru."
>
> 此予金陵别业也，址止一丘，故名芥子，状其微也，往来诸公，见其稍具丘壑，谓取"芥子纳须弥"之意。[24]

This introduction has a twofold structure. In one aspect, Li Yu gives a brief interpretation of the name "Mustard Seed Garden" on his own terms. In another aspect, Li Yu implies that this name allows others to better observe and even get to know the essence of his Garden. To this extent, the name "Mustard Seed Garden" claims Li Yu's true ownership by conveying his virtuosity of dwelling to others.

Li Yu's virtuosity of dwelling became influential when he used the name "Mustard Seed Garden" to identify his bookstore and publications. Li Yu took pains to communicate his innovative ideas about everyday life with spiritual friends a thousand miles away by opening a store in which to sell his books and self-designed stationery. In 1671, a few years after he designed and moved into the Mustard Seed Garden, Li Yu published *Xianqing ouji* 闲情偶寄 (*Leisure Notes*), a collection of several hundred essays introducing his experiments in drama, domestic architecture and artefacts, food and drink, and

[24] Li Yu 李渔, "*Jiezi yuan zalian*" 芥子园杂联 [The Couplets for Mustard Seed Garden], in *Liweng yijiayan wenji* 笠翁一家言文集, 242.

health-related matters. In *Leisure Notes*, Li Yu told us where to find the whole collection of his writings and cultural productions:

> The place where the writing paper is sold is the same place that sells my books; everything I have ever written is assembled here. Those with peculiar penchants [lit. eating scabs], can purchase them here and take them with them; this is not different from taking The Old Fisherman [Li Yu] back with them. Spiritual friendship over great distances depends entirely on this. At present, I can claim confidants (知己, *zhiji*) throughout the land; why limit myself to those I meet face-to-face? [In smaller font:] Inside the Book Street in Nanjing, there is a sign with five characters that reads: "Mustard Seed Garden Famed Notepaper" – that is the place.
>
> 售笺之地即售书之地，凡予生平著作，皆萃于此。有嗜痂之癖者，贸此以去，如借筇翁而归。千里神交，全赖于此。只今知己遍天下，岂尽谋面之人哉？金陵书铺廊坊间有"芥子园名笺"五字者，即其处也。[25]

By using "Mustard Seed Garden" as a sign to identify his store, Li Yu connected the name of the Garden to all his cultural products. Therefore, those who enjoyed Li Yu's virtuosity always got to know about his garden residence in Nanjing after tracing the source of the works that they appreciated. This double meaning of the Mustard Seed Garden can be evidenced in Wu Changyuan's account. By looking at his note, we can see that Wu knew Li Yu's garden residence in Nanjing as the real Mustard Seed Garden, on the one hand, and highlighted the well-recognised painting manuals under the name of "Mustard Seed Garden," on the other.

Li Yu's virtuosity is rooted in dwelling developed in relation to relocation and embodied by the name of his "Mustard Seed Garden." Such virtuosity could be valuable for the inhabitants residing in Dashilar. After the Qing army took

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[25] Li Yu 李渔, "Writing Paper," in *Xianqing ouji* 闲情偶记 [Leisure Notes], *Li Yu quanji* 李渔全集 [The Complete Work of Li Yu] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1992), vol. 3, 229. The place selling Li Yu's works is recorded as "Cheng'en Temple" in the 1672 edition, but as "Book Street" in the 1674 edition. The translated text is from an edition published in 1730, which explains the difference found in early editions. Also see Shi Wenjuan 史文娟, "Qingchu Li Yu Nanjing zhaiyuan kao" 清初李渔南京宅园考 [A Textual Research on Li Yu's Dwelling and Garden in Nanjing of Early Qing Dynasty], *Jianzhushi* 建筑师 [The Architect], no. 3 (2016), 84–85. This translation is by Sarah E. Kile with minor amendments. Kile, "Toward an Extraordinary Everyday," 101.

over Beijing in 1644, the Han Chinese inhabitants in the Inner City were commanded to give over their homes to the bannermen and their households. Being uprooted from the Inner City, these inhabitants were forced into the Outer City. As there had already been settlements, workshops and depots developed outside the three southern gates of the Inner City, the relocating families—who were accustomed to spacious compounds on decorous lanes—had to join the great congestion of homes and to navigate a place of their own. Although the relocation of these families finally completed in the mid-1650s, itinerant scholars, officials, and merchants continued to come and go, contributing to the dynamic congregations in the Outer City. Under the same backdrop of relocation, the dwellers in Dashilar would appreciate their original homes and would think about how to set out their lives in a different context. To this extent, they would be able to value Li Yu's virtuosity of dwelling embodied by the name of his Mustard Seed Garden.

The Mustard Seed Garden Conveys Li Yu's Virtuosity of "Being at Home Anywhere"

Organised like a manual, *Leisure Notes* shares Li Yu's innovative knowledge of how to behave at home. All the instructions given in this collection of essays are developed from his everyday practices, allowing not only Li Yu but also his readers to navigate a notion of home. Nonetheless, such an idea of home can be very complex because it is defined by the various practices which are somehow interrelated. In other words, each specific practice can be constitutive of the abstract idea of home.

Leisure Notes holds the greatest appeal among Li Yu's writings. Without providing any description of the Garden's layout, it is commonly regarded as a record of Li Yu's experience of designing and living in his Mustard Seed Garden. The essays are all Li Yu's reflections on his everyday practices and, therefore, are very specifically situated. Although most of the essays decline

to mention the name of the Garden directly, when writing *Leisure Notes*, Li Yu had moved into the Mustard Seed Garden and would have obtained a real sense of satisfaction from becoming thoroughly intimate with the everyday spaces therein.[26]

Although Li Yu gives instructions in *Leisure Notes* on how to behave at home, he does not provide any fixed rule or right answers. Instead, he encourages readers to review their everyday practices through more careful observation of and more innovative engagements with everyday objects. This purpose of Li Yu's *Leisure Notes* can be well illustrated in an essay on the "Pomegranate Tree" within the topic of "Planting."[27] This essay gives a concrete example of how Li Yu developed the nuances of the Mustard Seed Garden on his own terms. At the beginning of the essay, Li Yu points out that planting large pomegranate trees is not usually considered a perfect choice for a cramped garden:

> The plot of Mustard Seed Garden does not even amount to three *mu* (ca. 2000 m^2): buildings take up one third of the area, the rockery takes another one third, and I still have room for four or five large pomegranate trees. These trees are what embellish my residence and keep it from feeling desolate. They are also what take over my land, preventing me from growing any other plants at will.
>
> 芥子园之地不及三亩，而屋居其一，石居其一，乃榴之大者复有四五株。是点缀吾居，使不没落者榴也；盘踞吾地，使不得尽栽他卉者亦榴也。[28]

Such demerits, however, did not prevent Li Yu from planting the trees. By understanding the nature of the trees, Li Yu developed an ingenious spatial arrangement which made his Garden distinctive:

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[26] There are only three places in *Leisure Notes* where the name "Mustard Seed Garden" is directly mentioned.

[27] Li Yu 李渔, "Pomegranate Tree," in *Xianqing ouji* 闲情偶记, *Li Yu quanji* 李渔全集 [The Complete Work of Li Yu] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1992), vol. 3, 271–272.

[28] Ibid., 271–272. This translation is by Sarah E. Kile with minor amendments. Kile, "Toward an Extraordinary Everyday," 166.

> By nature, the pomegranate tree likes pressure, so it is suitable to pile rocks up at its base to make a mountain out of it; in this way, the root of the pomegranate tree becomes the base of the mountain. By nature, the pomegranate tree likes sunshine, so I can use the shade it provides to shelter a building, such that the shade of the tree becomes the sky above the building. By nature, the pomegranate tree tends to be tall and straight, so I can take advantage of that fact and construct a storied building next to it, thereby drawing closer to its branches like an immortal on the horizon; in this way, the pomegranate flowers also lean on my railing and serve as the gatekeepers.
>
> 榴性喜压，就其根之宜石者从而山之，是榴之根即山之麓也；榴性喜日，就其阴之可庇者从而屋之，是榴之地即屋之天也；榴之性又复喜高而直上，就其枝柯之可傍，而又借为天际真人者从而楼之，是榴之花即吾倚栏守户之人也。[29]

This innovative way of making use of the pomegranate trees finally allows Li Yu to make an emphatic declaration of his ownership to the Garden. By affirming himself as "the master of Mustard Seed Garden,"[30] Li Yu reminds the reader that this essay is not written simply to provide instructions on planting pomegranate trees, but also to convey the idea that one can claim one's private space by developing a personalised understanding of everyday objects and finding a more nuanced and innovative way to deal with them. Not only that; Li Yu, at the very end of this essay, asks his readers to share this idea with all those who want to plant trees in their own spaces.[31]

The influence of Li Yu's *Leisure Notes* in Dashilar can be evidenced in the residences that featured pomegranate trees (Plate 69). In his *Jiujing suoji* 旧京琐记 (*Trivial Records of the Old Capital*), Xia Renhu 夏仁虎 (1874–1963) recorded that pomegranate trees were particularly planted in the homes of *shuli* 书吏, literati professionals who handled paperwork for bureaucrats during the Qing times:

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[29] Ibid., 272. This translation is by Sarah E. Kile with minor amendments. Kile, "Toward an Extraordinary Everyday," 166.

[30] Ibid., 272.

[31] Ibid., 272.

> Besides the nobles and trade persons, another group of local residents in the capital are the *shuli*. They maintain their literati tradition over generations. Most of them are originated from Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, and all of them are rich and live a luxury life. In their courtyard, they all lift up a pergola during the summer, arrange ceramic aquariums, and grow pomegranate trees in big pots. They would hire a home tutor even if they do not have kids going to school, just to show off their affluence. People mock them by saying "pergola, aquarium, and pomegranate trees; tutor, fat dogs, and big maids."[32]

In this Qing-era saying, the virtuosity of planting pomegranate trees in big pots was an essential aspect of the everyday life of the literati professionals who relocated from Zhejiang Province to Beijing. Pomegranate trees together with the other five elements—pergola, aquarium, tutor, fat dogs and big maids—conveyed the "otherness" of this group of literati professionals.[33] Through this saying, we can see how everyday objects were taken by itinerant dwellers in Dashilar to proclaim the heterotopic characters of their homes.

How Li Yu explored the notion of home is also embodied in his theatrical practices. Theatre directing thoughts are equally salient in Li Yu's everyday life, as can be evidenced in the couplets that he composed for the Mustard Seed Garden:

> Study (浮白轩, *Fubai xuan*) [34]
> When it rains, I see a waterfall; when it is clear, I see the moon.
> In the morning, I hear the birds; at night, I hear the songs.
> 雨观瀑布晴观月，朝听鸣禽夜听歌。

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[32] Xia Renhu 夏仁虎, *Jiujing suoji* 旧京琐记[Trivial Records of the Old Capital], accessed November 11, 2019, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=785197&remap=gb#p22.

[33] After the fall of the Qing dynasty, however, this saying began to be extensively interpreted as an idealised lifestyle of the upper-middle class families in Beijing in general. Some examples of these nostalgic narratives include: Shi Jichang 石继昌, *Chunming jiushi* 春明旧事 [Old Stories from the Capital] (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1996), 130–131; Liang Shiqiu 梁实秋, "Taipei jiaju" 台北家居 [Dwelling in Taipei], ca.1980s, accessed November 11, 2009, http://www.shuku.net:8082/novels/liangshiqiu/lsq56.html. It is these narratives that have rendered the pomegranate tree into a salient symbol of the past everyday life in Beijing. To this extent, the pomegranate tree remains its heterotopic character in contemporary Beijing.

[34] Kile's translation is "Cups Studio," probably because *fubai* 浮白 means "quenching with wine." Kile, "Toward an Extraordinary Everyday," 161.

Cloud-resting Valley (栖云谷, *Qiyun gu*)
Boating along the Three Gorges, stepping among the mountains.
仿佛舟行三峡里，俨然身在万山中。

Terrace Pavilion of Moon (月榭, *Yue xie*)
When the moon rises, I ascend onto the terrace, no matter which season it is;
When the wind arrives, I invite it to take a seat, no matter where it comes from.
有月即登台无论春秋冬夏，是风皆入座不分南北西东。

Stage (歌台, *Ge tai*)
Do not let worldly matters bother me – just compose a new song for my concubines.
休萦俗事催霜鬓，且制新歌付雪儿。[35]

These couplets, although generic, have shown that Li Yu regarded delightful sights and sounds as the pivot of his everyday life. He particularly enjoyed composing songs for his concubines, and their private performances took place very frequently in the Garden: "No matter summer or winter, morning or evening, especially the birthdays of my family members, music has to be played alongside good wine and food." [36] Although limited by the modest space of the Garden, Li Yu still established a fixed stage. This was in contrast to the usual setting of private performance stages at that time, where the "stage" was often simply a temporary rug placed on the ground in an open space when private troupes performed.[37]

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[35] Li, "The Couplets for Mustard Seed Garden," 242–243. Li Yu's writing on the Mustard Seed Garden, especially this form of couplets, is quite different from the writing of those seventeenth-century literati who worked on detailed descriptions of gardens to create "alternative spaces" which would allow them to be separated from the real world ruled by the Qing court. Wai-yee Li, "Introduction," in *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature*, ed. Wilt L. Idema (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 49.

[36] Li Yu, "*Qiao fusheng, Wang Zailai, Erji hezhuan*" 乔复生王再来二姬合传 [Double Biography of Two Concubine-Actresses: Qiao Fusheng and Wang Zailai], in *Liweng yijiayan wenji* 笠翁一家言文集, 98.

[37] Sophie Volpp has described the space occupied by the stage (usually a red carpet) as "opportunistic," with open boundaries. Sophie Volpp, *Worldly Stage: Theatricality in Seventeenth-Century China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 71–72.

Li Yu thoroughly summarised the conceptual importance of his self-directed theatrical shows by playing around a single Chinese character – *mi* 秘.[38] It has two different meanings: the first is to be *private,* and the second is to be *secretive.* On the one hand, Li Yu states that the Garden kept his plays beyond the access of anyone who would copy them without care: for instance, the private commercial performance troupes (秘之门内).[39] On the other hand, Li Yu explains that he never withholds his garden and theatrical performances from his guests, friends, family, and neighbours (未尝秘不使观).[40] Instead, he thinks that they can all be valuable to a considerable group of people who can appreciate his innovations and re-invent them with great caution.

The theatrical performance makes the Garden a sphere of *mi*, a place where expression, appreciation, communication and innovation emerge. Li Yu's household troupe gave theatrical shows widely on their trips around the country. Wherever Li Yu and his plays were presented, the Mustard Seed Garden as Li Yu's sphere of *mi* recurred in different places, open to interaction with cautious audiences. This is why Li Yu's presence was often believed to be associated with a "garden," the physical form of which turned out to be untraceable.

The Mustard Seed Garden as a sphere of *mi* can help us to better understand why Li Yu compares his own philosophy with Laozi's doctrine:

> Laozi's doctrine teaches retreat from the world and the practice of inaction; Liweng's doctrine teaches how to live at home and occupy oneself. These two teachings exist side by side, so whether you live in speculation or go into the society, there is nowhere you cannot make a home.

[38] Li, "Double Biography of Two Concubine-Actresses," 98.

[39] Ibid., 98.

[40] Ibid., 98.

> 老子之学，避世无为之学也；笠翁之学，家居有事之学也。二说并存，则游于方之内外，无适不可。[41]

Laozi's ideal society is the most extreme model of establishing norms through practice. To keep the people at rest, Laozi suggests that they should be enmeshed in customary norms and avoid practising beyond the scope of these norms. As norms could vary from place to place, Laozi regards intercourse between places as working against their stability. Thus, Laozi stresses immobility and opposes interaction in his discussion of how to keep the people's minds from disorder.[42] Li Yu admits that he was inspired by Laozi's doctrine but has twisted it by questioning the rejection of mobility and communication. He argues that people can maintain a sense of order when being exposed to many different but appealing ways of living.[43] Homes as spheres of *mi* help people to develop their own virtuosity of dwelling, which remain elastic even in the midst of changing societal norms and different patterns of dwelling. Such virtuosity allows them to make their homes anywhere as a hyper-personalised "otherness."

Through his writing and theatrical practice, Li Yu defines home as a kind of *heterotopia* against Laozi's *utopia*. According to Li Yu, his special virtuosity in everyday life keeps adding heterotopic dimensions to his home; allowing his everyday practices to communicate widely with others, his home gains a well-

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[41] Li Yu 李渔, *Xianqing ouji* 闲情偶记 [Leisure Notes], *Li Yu quanji* 李渔全集 [The Complete Work of Li Yu] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1992): vol. 3, 339. This translation is by Sarah E. Kile with minor amendments. Kile, "Toward an Extraordinary Everyday," 34. Kile translates the last two sentences as: "whether you move within or outside your home, there is nowhere you cannot go." My amendment takes Li Yu's personal life experience into consideration. The character "方 *fang*" literally means "locality" or "the norm of a society." Relating to Li Yu's personal life experience, "方外 *fangwai*" can be understood as "live in seclusion," while "方内 *fangnei*" as "go into the society" in which Li Yu recognised his home as a hyper-personalised "otherness" to the society.

[42] This is Li Yu's interpretation of Laozi's argument "not to show [the people] what is likely to excite their desires is the way to keep their minds from disorder" 不见可欲，使心不乱 [stated in Chapter Three, *Dao De Jing* 道德经]. Li Yu 李渔, *Xianqing ouji* 闲情偶记, 339.

[43] Ibid., 339.

travelled nature; and such "portability" of his home then enables him to hold on its distinctiveness. Such heterotopic character of Li Yu's home has been embodied in the couplet by him for his temporary residence in Dashilar: while he usually "w[ore] coarse cloth," the inhabitants around him liked "the embroidered" clothes; while he lives as an elderly man, he found the others as active as the youth. With its name being interpreted as "Mustard Seed Garden," Li Yu's temporary residence and his notion of home as a well-travelled "otherness" are evidenced to have been well fitted in Dashilar.

5.2.2 The Relocation of the Mustard Seed Garden

The apocryphal story of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden at *Hanjia tan* was first formalised in the late eighteenth century. At that time, significant urban development took place in Dashilar. First, *Liulichang* 琉璃厂 (The Imperial Glazed Tile Factory), a street in west Dashilar, began to serve as the most influential book emporium of the Qing empire. After Beijing was designated the imperial capital by the Ming ruler in the early fifteenth century, the Imperial Glazed Tile Factory was established on the southern margins of the Inner City. From the mid-eighteenth century, the factory no longer manufactured tiles and the street in front of it, *Liulichang*, gradually developed into a busy market. As the massive imperially sponsored literary projects led to a larger congregation of intellectuals in the capital from the 1770s, there emerged a group of intellectual entrepreneurs at *Liulichang*, who lived by bookselling and publishing.[44] These commercially-oriented intellectuals were outside the bureaucratic system but were often quite learned and articulate in their own right. They therefore struggled to affirm themselves by using literacy for

[44] Zhang Hanrui 张涵锐, "*Liulichang yange kao*" 琉璃厂沿革考 [The Historical Evolution of *Liulichang*], in Sun Dianqi comp., *Liulichang xiaozhi* 琉璃厂小志 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1982): 1–4. As summarised by Cynthia Brokaw, the subject of how this book emporium at *Liulichang* initially emerged and developed has not been studied, but there are a few recent essays focusing on its role in supporting elite scholarship and the sophisticated publication programs of the Qianlong era between 1736 and 1795. Cynthia Brokaw, "Introduction: Liulichang and Qing Book Culture," *East Asian Publishing and Society* 7 (2017): 89–93.

purposes other than study for civil service exams or literary composition. At the same time, the highly competitive market drove them to the forefront of cultural production.[45]

Second, late eighteenth-century Dashilar witnessed the maturation of commercial playhouses. The commercially oriented intellectuals from *Liulichang*, in particular, contributed to the growth of playhouses. Unlike those in official or academic positions, these socially ambiguous intellectuals, who lived on collecting, editing and publishing, were neither forbidden to visit the playhouse nor caused to feel embarrassed when writing about the performances therein. Wu Changyuan was a member of this group of intellectuals. His *Yanlan xiaopu* was indeed a successful creation based on a good understanding of this renewed interest in commercial theatre among educated audiences. The success of Wu's *Yanlan xiaopu* in the market boosted the production of books that also contained biographical sketches of the actor youths who cross-dressed to play young female (*dan*) roles, as well as homoerotic poetry and theatrical gossip. As Andrea S. Goldman indicates, these specific writings can be seen "in long-standing literati connoisseurship discourses about taste and distinction."[46] By commenting on opera acting and the talents of cross-dressing actors, the authors of these books affirmed themselves as "the dedicated opera fan"[47] and, therefore, as "the operagoer par excellence."[48]

Wu Changyuan was a representative of this community of intellectual entrepreneurs that came into being in Dashilar during the eighteenth century.

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[45] Christopher A. Reed, "Dukes and Nobles Above, Scholars Below: Beijing's Old Booksellers' District Liulichang, 1469–1941, and Its Influence on 20th-Century Shanghai's Book Trade," *East Asian Publishing and Society* 5 (2015): 74–128.

[46] Andrea S. Goldman, *Opera and the City: The Politics of Culture in Beijing, 1770–1900* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 11.

[47] Ibid., 11.

[48] Ibid., 11.

Like Wu Changyuan, these intellectuals would also have a particular interest in Li Yu. Having similar life experiences, they would appreciate not only his innovative cultural productions but also his virtuosity of dwelling.[49] From Wu's record in *Chenyuan shilüe*, we know that this community was quite aware of the multiple uses of the name "Mustard Seed Garden" and believed in the apocryphal story of Li Yu's temporary residence in south Dashilar known as "Mustard Seed Garden." The presence of Li Yu and his Garden allowed this community to express and communicate their identity, distinct from that of other intellectuals and entrepreneurs, as a specific sphere of *mi*. To this extent, the "Mustard Seed Garden" was a self-proclaimed heterotopic impulse added by this group of intellectuals to their homes in Dashilar. In this way, Li Yu and his Garden became an inseparable part of eighteenth-century Dashilar.

While the apocryphal story of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden enjoyed steady popularity, the theatre culture in south Dashilar changed over time. As recorded in *Yanlan xiaopu*, from the 1770s it had become a part of the profession of cross-dressing actors to accompany and entertain their patrons outside the playhouse.[50] *Siyu* 私寓 (lit. private accommodation), where celebrated cross-dressing actors resided, taught their students, served and entertained their patrons, then came of age as a new kind of institution in south Dashilar during the last decade of the eighteenth century.[51] Following the prevalence of such institutions during the nineteenth century, they experienced

[49] More detailed textual research is needed to testify to Li Yu's influences on these intellectual entrepreneurs and authors of *huapu* (flower register).

[50] Wu Xinmiao 吴新苗, "*Cong shiyan zhishu 'Yanlan xiaopu' kan Qingdai xiqu wenhua de xinbian*" 从"识艳之书"《燕兰小谱》看清代戏曲文化的新变 [An Investigation on the Changes in the Theatre Culture of Qing Dynasty Through *Yanlan xiaopu*], *Yunnan yishu xueyuan xuebao* 云南艺术学院学报 [Journal of Yunnan Arts University], no. 1 (2017): 84–90.

[51] Wu Xinmiao 吴新苗, "*Siyu zhi yu Wanqing liyuan wenhua*" 私寓制与晚清梨园文化 [The Institution of *Siyu* and the Theatre Culture of the Late Qing], *Xiqu yishu* 戏曲艺术 [Journal of National Academy of Chinese Theatre Arts] 38, no. 1 (2017): 90–96.

a sharp decline in the early twentieth century.[52] A folk song (*zhuzhi ci*, 竹枝词) written in 1909 described the changes in the street scene in south Dashilar :

> The residences of young cross-dressing actors were famous, but things have changed overnight. Taking a look inside *Yingtao Xiejie* 樱桃斜街 (Cherry Oblique Alley), the business lights are no longer on.
>
> [Notes in smaller font:] In the past, the residences of cross-dressing actors had to hang a business light at the door. *Yingtao Xiejie* was a thriving street for such residences, but now they are all gone. Even in places such as *Hanjia tan* and *Shaanxi xiang*, not many are left.
>
> 像姑堂子久驰名，一旦沧桑有变更。试看樱桃斜巷里，当门不见角灯明。
>
> 旧日像姑堂子门内，必悬角灯一盏，樱桃斜街素称繁盛之区，今已寂无一家，即韩家潭、陕西巷等处，亦落落晨星矣。[53]

The trajectory of *siyu*'s rise and fall in south Dashilar has been depicted by Wang Shuzu 王述祖 in his "Rhymes of *Hanjia tan*" (*Hanjia tan yao,* 韩家潭谣):

> The moon above *Hanjia tan* is full; the songs in *Hanjia tan* is thriving. Patrons were well entertained with nice wines every night; no one was interested in looking for the Mustard Seed Garden.
>
> There were residences of celebrated cross-dressing actors; each of them hosted great performances of opera in the old days. The actors are scattered and fallen now; the same residences have their red gates half closed even before the halftime of the night.
>
> 韩家潭边明月圆，韩家潭里笙歌繁。金尊夜夜娱宾客，寂寞谁寻芥子园。
>
> 昔日樱桃芍药家，家家座上醉流霞。梨园子弟今零落，半掩朱扉月未斜。[54]

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[52] As recorded in *Qing bailei chao* 清稗类钞 [Qing Petty Matters Anthology] (1916), *Hanjia tan* and other alleys in south Dashilar accommodated opera actors whose private residences were frequented by wealthy patrons for entertainment; as many actors had lost their customers after the Boxer Rebellion (1900), their residences were gradually taken by southern-troupe brothels. Xu Ke 徐珂, "*Jingshi bada hutong*" 京师八大胡同 *Qing bailei chao (dili juan)* 清稗类钞（地理卷）[Qing Petty Matters Anthology (Geography Volume)], Chinese Text Project, accessed March 13, 2018, https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=647471&remap=gb.

[53] Lanling youhuansheng 兰陵忧患生, *Jinghua baier zhuzhi ci* 京华百二竹枝词, in *Jingju lishi wenxian huibian: Qingdai juan (volume 1)* 京剧历史文献汇编（清代卷）第一册, ed. Fu Jin 傅谨 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2011), 603.

[54] This short poem was composed during the Emperor Guangxu's reign (1875–1908). Wang Shuzu 王述祖, "Hanjia tan yao" 韩家潭谣 in *Qidai Xuannan shici xuan* 清代宣南诗词选 [Selected Poems by the Qing Intellectuals Residing in Xuannan District], eds. Beijing shici

In this description, Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden at *Hanjia tan* represented the theatre culture at *Hanjia tan* before the rise of *siyu*. Whilst the residential buildings that served as *siyu* declined, their loneliness reminded people of this former residence of Li Yu. From such a nostalgic perspective, both Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden and the many residences of celebrated cross-dressing actors belonged to the glorious past of the theatre culture in south Dashilar. As a result, people who were outside the community of "the dedicated opera fan" but had nostalgia for the past began to search for the physical evidence of Li Yu's former residence at *Hanjia tan* in the context of many distinctive but declining residences of cross-dressing opera actors.

Such enthusiasm in searching for the remains of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden was further aroused by the way the apocryphal story was recorded in the gazetteers of Beijing from the late nineteenth century. Although Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden continued to be told in the later gazetteers, including for example *Jingshi fangxiang zhigao* 京师坊巷志稿 (*Gazetteer of Streets in Beijing*, 1885) and *Guangxu Shuntian fu zhi* 光绪顺天府志 (*Shuntian Prefecture gazetteer compiled in the reign of Emperor Guangxu*, 1886), the multiple meanings of the Garden were seldom mentioned:

> There are *Shangyu huiguan* 上虞会馆 and *Guang*[*zhou*] *huiguan* 广[州]会馆 [at Hanjia tan]. *Chenyuan shilüe* (Brief View to the Capital, 1788): *Jiezi yuan* (Mustard Seed Garden) was at *Hanjia tan*, [where] Li Liweng, Yu, from Qiantang (Zhejiang Province), lodged in the early years of Emperor Kangxi's reign; it is currently *Guang*[*zhou*] *huiguan*.[55]

Without explicating either the real Mustard Seed Garden in Nanjing or the "Mustard Seed Garden" as a way to recognise Li Yu's cultural production, these later gazetteers left room for the people with a nostalgia to interpret the

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xuehui 北京诗词学会 and Beijing Xuanwu qu dangan guan 北京市宣武区档案馆 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2005), 471.

[55] *Guangxu Shuntian Fu zhi* 光绪顺天府志 [Guangxu Shuntian Prefecture Gazetteer] (vol. 8), The Universal Library Project, accessed March 13, 2018, https://archive.org/details/02085562.cn.

Mustard Seed Garden as Li Yu's self-designed garden residence in Beijing. Consequently, *Hanjia tan* began to be visited by these people who were enthusiastic in searching for the physical evidence of the Garden.

Balute Chongyi 巴魯特·崇彝 (1884–1951) was one of these enthusiastic people. In one of his records, Chongyi looked back on his visit to the Mustard Seed Garden at *Hanjia tan* after the fall of *siyu*:

> The Mustard Seed Garden at Hanjia tan in Southern Beijing, which was famous during the early years of Qing Dynasty, was also built by Li Liweng (Li Yu). The property was later collectively owned by Guang[zhou] Prefecture and accommodated former officials Shen Bixiang 沈笔香 and Liang Boyin 梁伯引. I have visited there several times and found myself entirely helpless at identifying its original layout, probably because it has been constantly reconstructed. The original hills and valleys are all lost; what remains is only a couple of halls and a rockery with a cottage in the southeast corner. During his stay, Shen happened to inscribe at the front door: "An old steed (an old man with aspiration) in the stable 老骥伏枥, is next to wandering warblers (cross-dressing opera actors) 流莺比邻."[56]

Because of these many records from 1788, Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden was gradually interwoven with the history of Dashilar and was widely regarded as a representation of the theatre culture which thrived in south Dashilar during the eighteenth century. Taking a look at how historians analyse the theatre industry in south Beijing as a system, we can find Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden overtly a part of that system (Plate 70).[57] This evidences that the relocation of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden from Nanjing to Beijing—although as a contingency—became an influential and productive entity in Dashilar.

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[56] Balute Chongyi 巴魯特·崇彝, *Daoxian yilai chaoye zaji* 道咸以来朝野杂记 [Miscellaneous records about the court from the reigns of Emperor Daoguang and Xianfeng onwards] (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1982), 96.

[57] Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 48–49.

5.3 The Mustard Seed Garden and *Guangzhou huiguan* as a *Hybrid Heritage*

When Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden was "relocated" to *Hanjia tan* by the community of intellectuals who lived on innovative cultural production and affirmed themselves by commenting on opera acting and the talents of cross-dressing actors, the property designated the "Mustard Seed Garden" was hosting *Guangzhou huiguan* (the native-place lodge of Guangzhou Prefecture). In the narrative of these intellectuals, *Guangzhou huiguan* was of historical interest primarily because of Li Yu's legendary life and virtuosity.

By examining the writings of the members of *Guangzhou huiguan*, we find that they also often mention the link between Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden and *Guangzhou huiguan*. Unlike those intellectuals who include such stories in their narratives as means of self-representation, these writings interweave the history of *Guangzhou huiguan* with the story of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden at *Hanjia tan* because they see this story as representative of the reality of south Dashilar where their *huiguan* was once situated. By re-evaluating *Guangzhou huiguan*'s relationship with Li Yu's "Mustard Seed Garden," these writings incorporate the absence of the garden through the presence of the *huiguan* into the new reality of Dashilar. To this extent, the long-established link between them can be seen as a *hybrid heterotopic heritage*: a heritage that is related to many different places, concepts, practices and objects.

Looking at the ideal of *Guangzhou huiguan*, we can see that it is quite different from that of those intellectual entrepreneurs. *Guangzhou huiguan* was founded in the early seventeenth century during the late Ming. People had been relocating to Beijing since the early fifteenth century after the city replaced Nanjing as the capital of the Ming dynasty. To meet the increasing demand of sojourners for temporary living quarters, *huiguans*, often collectively owned by groups of people from the same hometown, emerged as a popular form of

accommodation in Beijing.[58] Guo Shangbin 郭尚宾, the founder of *Guangzhou huiguan*, knew well the fundamental differences between a *huiguan* and a privately-held hostel: while the privately-held hostel generally fell short as regards management because of the principal–agent problem, the collective ownership of the *huiguan* was based on homophily. Guo's understanding has been explicated by Chen Xichang 陈熙昌 in a record celebrating the founding of *Guangzhou huiguan* (1624):

> *Huiguans* in Beijing are similar to *chuanshes* 传舍 [privately-held hostels]. A typical characteristic of *chuanshe* is the high mobility of their guests – someone who came in the morning can leave in the afternoon. Even if a gentleman comes, he will not see it as a permanent accommodation and, therefore, will trouble the proprietor to service them. If the proprietor hires a person who knows little about his *chuanshe* to manage for him, he will have to make a lot of effort in guiding [this hired manager] by setting an example himself. [In light of this,] any proprietor who hires a manager to run his *chuanshe* must be either stupid or unrealistic. [Because of the dilemma mentioned above, a *chuanshe*] can be initiated and abandoned equally quickly; its ownership changes frequently, its expenses soar over the years, and it does not have a settled place eventually. [Nevertheless,] since we gentlemen from the same town love our hometown, if we initiate a *huiguan* together, we will cherish it with our wholehearted effort and will adopt serious strategies in managing it. This is the consideration behind this initiative that our home fellow Mr. Guo leads us to erect this Guangzhou huiguan.

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[58] Ho Pint-ti 何炳棣 argues that the origin of *huiguan* in Beijing can be traced back to the reign of the Yongle Emperor (1402–1424) rather than to the sixteenth century, as in the predominant claim. He finds the earliest record of Beijing's *huiguan* in *Wuhu Xianzhi* 芜湖县志 (The Gazetteer of Wuhu). This record relates how *Wuhu huiguan* was founded in the early fifteenth century: "Yu Mo, whose courtesy name was Keduan 克端, was selected as a student in the Imperial Academy in the first year of Yongle Emperor's reign (1402), appointed the principal of Nanjing Ministry of Revenue 南京户部主事 and then the principal of Beijing Ministry of Works 北京工部主事. [Yu] purchased a few buildings and a piece of land just out of the Zhengyang Gate from a person surnamed Lu and ran the property a hostel. When he returned to Wuhu, [Yu] handed over the property to Jin Jian 晋俭 and other officials from Wuhu and served in Beijing, [and then the property became] *Wuhu huiguan.* In the reign of Zhengtong Emperor (1436–1449), the offspring of Lu initiated a lawsuit to claim the right to the property. [Yu] Risheng, the son of [Yu] Mo, brought the deed to the court for confrontation. [The property] was awarded to *Wuhu huiguan*. Until the present time, [our fellow-townsmen] who visit the capital for imperial examination or official appointment all rely on it." Ho Ping-ti 何炳棣, *Zhangguo huiguan shilun* 中国会馆史论 (Taibei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1966), 11–14.

> 京师之有会馆，犹传舍也。传舍之则，晨主暮客。君子之至于斯也，以为是不暖席之地，而役役焉。代所不知之人，先之劳之，作居停主，非拙则迁，以是易创易湮，人日更，费日冗，而讫无定址。夫仁人长者爱一乡，必并其风尘鞅掌之劳而惜之，营一事必并经久不坏之策而筹之，则同乡郭公噩吾偕吾曹所置广州会馆意也。[59]

At the same time, the members of *Guangzhou huiguan* also realised that the area immediately outside the Xuanwu Gate was "the most convenient place where the inbound took a rest and the outbound bid farewells"[60] but the *huiguan* did not have a lodge in that area to accommodate these demands. Therefore, they decided to purchase a property in that area to establish their lodge. To this extent, we can see that the members of *Guangzhou huiguan* understood the area south of Xuanwu Gate, including Dashilar, as a place of many different people from other places who nonetheless were able to call it home.[61]

Guided by such an initiative, the management of *Guangzhou huiguan* was created with clear intentions closely related to the ambition of the founder Guo Shangbin. Guo Shangbin, as an official deposed for his outspoken personality, argued that intellectual persons should have a universal ambition rather than being occupied with private interests. Therefore, Guo believed that he could still serve the country by providing basic accommodation for talents from Guangzhou Prefecture so that they would not be preoccupied with living concerns and would act more honestly and loyally towards the country. This ideal of the *Guangzhou huiguan*, based on Guo's ambition, is also discussed in Chen's record:

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[59] Chen Xichang 陈熙昌, "Guangzhou huiguan ji" 广州会馆记 [The Record of Guangzhou huiguan] (1624), in *Beijing huiguan dangan shiliao* 北京会馆档案史料 [Historical Archives of Beijing Huiguan], ed. Beijing Shi danganguan 北京市档案馆 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1997), 1365.

[60] Ibid.

[61] In Plate 7, Wang Shiren has marked out eighty-seven native-place lodges within the limits of Dashilar. These native-place lodges are set up by itinerant dwellers primarily from southern, southwestern and central China.

> In former days, Xie Cheqi 谢车骑 [Xie Xuan 谢玄 (343–388), a famous general] already showed his talent and competence in defeating the enemy when dealing with trivial matters; Tao Shixing 陶士行 [Tao Kan 陶侃 (259–334), another famous general] already had great strategies to manage a country when making use of bits of wood and bamboo. Mr. Guo treats the world in the same way that he treats his hometown. Du Shaoling 杜少陵 [Du Fu 杜甫(712–770), a prominent Chinese poet of the Tang dynasty] said: "Could I get mansions covering ten thousand miles? I would house all the humble intellectuals and make them beam with smiles." An intellectual person in the ancient times would have a universal ambition even if he only stayed in a humble shelter. Thus, the world was spoiled by the existence of *chuanshe,* because an intellectual person [who] would not become so occupied with private interests if he does not live in *chuanshe*. If *chuanshe* did not exist, and there would not be any estrangement and division in the universe like between Qin and Yue [two countries far away from each other in the Springs and Autumns period].
>
> 昔谢车骑履屐之间各当任使识者已决其应敌之才，而陶士行竹头木屑中便寓经略中原之具。公之视天下也，犹其视一乡也。杜少陵诗曰，安得广厦千万间，大庇天下寒士俱欢颜。古之君子，身在邃庐而有万物一体之志，故天下事皆坏于有传舍，其目前之心无之而不传舍也。斯无之而不秦越也。[62]

Such an ideal was sustained by *Guangzhou huiguan* in the Qing era. During the Ming–Qing transition, the very few compatriots who travelled from Guangzhou Prefecture to Beijing for official appointments were all attracted to *Guangzhou huiguan* by its reputation as a place to accommodate the intellectuals who knew statecraft. Cheng Keze 程可则, a scholar-official from Guangzhou Prefecture, and his two peers found the front two-thirds of its property had been occupied by Manchurian soldiers, but managed to come into the *Huiguan* through the rear entrance from the old days.[63] A few years later, the property was fully occupied by soldiers without any official registration. By using the stele, on which Chen Xichang's record of *Guangzhou huiguan's*

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[62] Ibid, 1366.

[63] Cheng Keze 程可则, "Chongxiu Guangzhou huiguan ji" 重修广州会馆记 [The Record of the Re-establishment of Guangzhou huiguan] (1673), in *Beijing huiguan dangan shiliao* 北京会馆档案史料 [Historical Archives of Beijing Huiguan], ed. Beijing Shi danganguan 北京市档案馆 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1997), 1367.

foundation was inscribed, as an evidence, Cheng and his peers successfully reclaimed *Guangzhou huiguan*'s right to the property. When re-establishing the *Huiguan*, Chen made it clear that he would like to take on the mission that had been initiated by Guo Shangbin:

> [I] worry that [our *huiguan*] is only regarded as a *chuanshe* [hostel] and nobody would like to manage it. […] Our *huiguan* might not be the only one that could help [the scholar-officials] to make their home, serve the emperor, and gain trust from their superiors and friends, but our aspiration is that [the success and survival of] our *huiguan* would be founded in achieving these three features.
>
> 所虑视同传舍，经纪无人 [……] 以之立身可，以之事君可，以之获上信友可，不独兹馆然也。而馆实基之，是余之志也。[64]

Guangzhou huiguan bought the property at *Hanjia tan* which was later assigned as Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden in 1742, from Hang Shijun 杭世骏 (1696–1773), a renowned scholar-official.[65] Although *Guangzhou huiguan* had a very different ideal from that of those intellectual entrepreneurs and dedicated opera fans, it also included the claimed link with Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden in its narratives: *Guangzhou huiguan* opposed itself to the Garden as a representation of its surrounding which featured the theatre culture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The most famous example of how *Guangzhou huiguan* interpreted its relation with Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden might be Shen Xijin's 沈锡晋 inscriptions. As a scholar-official from Guangzhou Prefecture, Shen Xijin lived with his

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[64] Ibid., 1368.

[65] According to *Guangdong huiguan lungao* 广东会馆论稿 (Manuscripts on the native-lodges of Guangdong), the property at *Hanjia tan* had already been neglected for a period of time before its deed was rediscovered by Chen Botao 陈伯陶 (1855–1930) when examining the old boxes of *Guangzhou huiguan* in October 1903. *Guangzhou huiguan*, however, was not able to preserve the deed properly or renovate the property. Ye Gongchuo 叶恭绰 (1881–1968) knew of the existence of this deed and asked Zhang Cixi to take notice of it. It was not until 1953 that the deed was finally rediscovered in an obsolete suitcase belonging to the old *Guangzhou huiguan*. Liu Zhenggang 刘正刚, *Guangdong huiguan lungao* 广东会馆论稿 [Manuscripts on the native-lodges of Guangdong] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chu ban she, 2006), 17.

family in this native-place lodge at *Hanjia tan* during the 1870–80s. Impressed by the unique cultural atmosphere of south Dashilar, Shen inscribed a couplet on the front door of *Guangzhou huiguan*: "Ten years [serving in] the office of wisteria flowers (十载藤花署); a whole spring [residing in] this garden of mustard seed (三春芥子园)."[66] This couplet echoed his inscription on the stable in the lodge: "An old steed (an old man with aspiration) in the stable (老骥伏枥), is next to wandering warblers (cross-dressing opera actors) (流莺比邻)."[67] As Shen's inscriptions subtly revealed the reality of south Dashilar during the 1870–80s, they were widely disseminated, especially among intellectuals with a particular interest in Li Yu and opera.[68]

The decline of the Empire, however, gradually blurred the distinction between the members of *Guangzhou huiguan* and those intellectuals who lacked official positions and affirmed a separate identity through book and opera connoisseurship. For instance, Shen Zongqi 沈宗畸 (1857–1926), Shen Xijin's son, served as a late-Qing official and, at the same time, acted as a salient figure in an intellectual community which claimed a distinct identity through the traditional connoisseurship of literati in the context of the early twentieth century.[69] During his stay of more than thirty years in Beijing, Shen highly

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[66] Zhang Cixi 张次溪, "Beijing jiezi yuan ji" 北京芥子园记 [The Record of Beijing Mustard Seed Garden], in *Beijing lingnan wenwu zhi* 北京岭南文物志 (Beijing: Zhang Cixi 张次溪, 1954), 44.

[67] Ibid., 44.

[68] Shen's inscription "An old steed (an old man with aspiration) in the stable, is next to wandering warblers (cross-dressing opera actors)" is quoted by Balute Chongyi 巴鲁特·崇彝 in his record looking back on his visit to the Mustard Seed Garden at *Hanjia tan* after the fall of *siyu*. Chongyi, *Daoxian yilai chaoye zaji* 道咸以来朝野杂记, 96. The same inscription is quoted by Li Baojia 李宝嘉 (1867–1906), one of the most influential writers of the late Qing, to depict the environment of the neighbourhood where he lived while he was writing his satirical novels in Shanghai. Lu Huijuan, Liu Bo, and Lu Da, *Zhongguo lidai zhuming wenxuejia pingzhuan* 中国历代著名文学家评传 [Critical Biographies of Famous Writers in Chinese History] (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997), vol. 6, 238.

[69] Shen Zongqi lived with his father in *Guangzhou huiguan*'s property at Hanjia tan during the 1870–80s. He later left the capital with his father for eight years and then returned for an official assignment. For Shen's role in this intellectual community, see Sun Haoyu 孙浩宇, "Qingmo Zhutun yinshe jiqi lv jing dongbei shiren kao" 清末著涒吟社及其旅京东北籍诗人考, *Dongbei*

appreciated the cultural atmosphere of Dashilar, especially the bookshops at *Liulichang* and the cultivated opera actors residing around *Hanjia tan*. As a bibliophile and publisher, he published several collections of stories and poems about the opera and actors in Beijing, such as *Donghua suolu* 东华琐录, *Nanyalou shiban* 南雅楼诗斑, *Fuanshuang ci* 繁霜词, *Xuannan lingmeng lu* 宣南零梦录, and *Bianjiayi zachao* 便佳簃杂钞.

This change can be well illustrated in the way *Guangzhou huiguan* related itself to Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden in the twentieth century. When Zhang Cixi 张次溪 (1909–1968) wrote a record commemorating this property once owned by *Guangzhou huiguan* at *Hanjia tan* in the 1950s, he intentionally involved the apocryphal story of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden.[70] In his record, Zhang speculated on the heyday of this lodge through the ingenious arrangement of its garden which was claimed to have been designed by Li Yu. Based on this tradition, he further used the vanished garden to explicate the fall of the lodge and implied an expression of nostalgic feelings for this lodge:

> It is said that the ingenious arrangement of the garden was left by Li Yu; now, not after many years, it is already vanished; even the entertainment establishments in the old days are now waning among weeds and cannot be identified. Given all this, I have just reframed the property deed obtained from Jinpu (Hang Shijun), and have invited Mr Xu Xueshi to create a painting, *The Nostalgia of the Mustard Seed Garden*, to help us in imagining the literacy, culture, and abundance during the great period of Qianlong (1736–1796) and Jiaqing (1796–1820), and in expressing the deep feeling for the old times!
>
> 园中亭池树石，传出笠翁之手；曾几何时，满目阬堑，即昔时歌舞地，亦尽委寒烟衰草，不可复寻。兹将堇浦典约重加装池，复请徐石雪先生

shida xuebao 东北师大学报: 哲学社会科学版 [Journal of Northeastern Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)], no. 6 (2016): 40–45.

[70] Zhang, "*Beijing jiezi yuan ji*," 44–47. Zhang also had particular interests in opera and was familiar with the opera-related stories in south Dashilar. He collected many opera-related writings including *huapu*, all of which were published in his book *Qingdai Yandu Liyuan shiliao: zhengxu bian* 清代燕都梨园史料: 正续编.

宗浩为作《芥子园感旧图》，藉以想见乾嘉盛时之儒雅风流庶足，发思古之幽情乎！[71]

Through the physicality of the assumed “Mustard Seed Garden” built in the seventeenth century and well-maintained by the lodge during the great period of Qianlong and Jiaqing, Zhang Cixi’s record aimed at commemorating the distinctive *interiority* and otherness of *Guangzhou huiguan.* Although *The Nostalgia of the Mustard Seed Garden* is not published, we can still find a sketch of the imagined garden in *Beijing lingnan wenwu zhi* 北京岭南文物志, a book compiled and published by Zhang Cixi to record all the heritages that *Guangzhou huiguan* has left in Beijing (Plate 71). This evidences that Li Yu’s Mustard Seed Garden has been incorporated into the heterotopic quality of *Guangzhou huiguan.*

By examining how *Guangzhou huiguan* gradually interwove itself with the apocryphal story of Li Yu’s Mustard Seed Garden, we can see that it first saw the story as part of the reality of south Dashilar until the nineteenth century, and then incorporated the story into its own narrative to stress a separate *interiority* in the twentieth century. In this way, the Mustard Seed Garden and *Guangzhou huiguan* became a *hybrid heterotopic heritage*, a long-established link informing the virtuosity of making a home as an “otherness” developed by different people in Dashilar through successive milieus. Despite changes in its ownership, function and even physical appearance, this *hybrid heterotopic heritage* is recurrently present as an apocryphal story and is to be incorporated into the new reality of Dashilar.

5.4 Conclusion

Through the apocryphal story of Li Yu’s Mustard Seed Garden at *Hanjia tan*, this chapter reveals the formation of serial *heterotopias*. First, by looking into

[71] Zhang, “*Beijing jiezi yuan ji*,” 44.

how a group of socially ambiguous intellectuals used the story to affirm their identity in the late eighteenth century, we can understand their residences as *heterotopias* connected to the many bookshops, publishing houses and commercial playhouses in Dashilar. Second, the story was repeatedly recorded beyond this group of intellectuals to convey the heterotopic characters of the theatre culture prevailing in south Dashilar from the late eighteenth century onwards. In particular, the Garden was regarded as a quasi-institution existing in the eighteenth century before the emergence, development, and decline of the residences of cross-dressing opera actors as an innovative and heterotopic institution in the nineteenth century. Third, by examining how the members of *Guangzhou huiguan* incorporated Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden into their narratives we can see how such narratives interpreted the link between the *Huiguan* and the Garden differently as a way to proclaim the distinctive *interiority* and otherness of their native-place lodge.

This analysis allows us to see that the residences of celebrities in Dashilar are *hybrid heterotopic heritages*. As the distinctive lives of dwellers were discussed and reproduced extensively, they would have been constantly involved in the formation of later *heterotopias* and would thereby help in revealing the ever-changing reality of Dashilar (Plate 72). Therefore, these residences cannot be understood through a specific authorship. Instead, it is critical to explore all that has been interwoven with them and made them influential. Based on this understanding, we can better reflect on the newly erected steles related to the residences of celebrities and other historical buildings in Dashilar. Indeed, they represent valuable efforts to help the historical Dashilar remain traceable. Nonetheless, they treat the buildings as independent heritages and lack interpretations of their rich connections with others; therefore, they are inadequate to reveal the special cultural and spatial fabric of Dashilar.

Finally, we can briefly review a further implementation of the notion of *hybrid heterotopic heritage.* As Richard Belsky has noted, there were great

differences between Beijing and Shanghai regarding the distribution in the city of the native-place lodges of different provinces during the late imperial era.[72] In late nineteenth-century Shanghai, sojourners from different provinces tended to live in "small cultural enclosures."[73] While specific roads were often identified by the native place of their inhabitants, native-place lodges were usually located in their corresponding neighbourhoods, showing a pattern of spatial demarcation.[74] In late imperial Beijing, however, the native-place lodges of different provinces congregated in the Outer City, especially in the Xuannan District (a district outside the Xuanwu Gate, including Dashilar and the area to its west), and "were intermingled in no perceivable pattern"[75] (Plate 73). This chapter has shown Beijing's *Guangzhou huiguan* as a *hybrid heterotopic heritage* by explaining how it was interwoven with Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden at *Hanjia tan*. By seeing the native-place lodges in Beijing as *hybrid heterotopic heritages*, we can investigate how they work differently in forming the communities here from the way they operate in Shanghai. By looking into the way these native-place lodges interwove themselves with the local history of Beijing, we can get to know different layers of their interrelations and, thereby, better grasp the more complex inter-territorial heterotopic patterns of their congregations.

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[72] Richard Belsky, *Localities at the Center: Native Place, Space, and Power in Late Imperial Beijing* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2005), 92–94.

[73] Zheng Tuyou 郑土有, "Chongtu, bingcun, jiaorong, chuangxin: Shanghai minsu de xingcheng yu tedian" 冲突、并存、交融、创新：上海民俗的形成与特点 [Conflict, coexistence, mixture and innovation: The formation and characteristics of Shanghai popular culture], in *Shanghai minsu yanjiu* 上海民俗研究 [Research on Shanghai customs], eds., *Zhongguo minjian wenhua* 中国民间文化 [Chinese popular culture] and Shanghai minjian wenyijia xiehui 上海民间文艺家协会 [Shanghai popular culture committee], (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1991), vol. 3, 9.

[74] Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Reginal Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853–1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 16–17.

[75] Belsky, *Localities at the Center*, 93.

Chapter Six
Dashilar as Urban Paradigm

6.1 Dashilar Interweaves the Theorisations of Paradigm, Heterotopia and Thing

To unfold the special complexity of Dashilar we need to undertake an analytical approach appropriate to its socio-spatial ordering. Taking theoretical impetus primarily from Giorgio Agamben, Michel Foucault and Bruno Latour, I have developed *paradigm*, *heterotopia* and *thing* as three technical terms in such a strategy of analysis. In this concluding chapter, I will first give a further explanation of why Dashilar sits at the intersection of these threads of theorisation and of how Dashilar permits a development of each.

6.1.1 The Agambenian *Paradigm* Comes to Terms with Dashilar

Dashilar has been operating over centuries as the expression and embodiment of everyday practices. As its socio-spatial ordering is contingent upon multiple threads of heterogeneous practices, no prescribed structures would help in understanding its complexity. To unfold the special complexity of Dashilar, we have to look into the heterogeneous logics that exist in everyday practices by tracing the *contingent relations* which make intelligible a group of socio-architectural phenomena.

In this dissertation, I have given three examples of such *contingent relations* to be found in Dashilar. First, the *relation* between the blue-and-white teacup and the refined sweetness of well-water makes intelligible not only the sophisticated organisations of playhouses in Dashilar but also the heterotopic characters of the modern water supply system in Beijing. Second, the *relations* between the shopfronts and the proprietors, customers and business rivals

make intelligible the shop's innovations in both their business management and architectural production. Third, the *relations* between the apocryphal stories of the Mustard Seed Garden and different groups of itinerant dwellers in Dashilar make intelligible a perplexing approach of community-building which proclaimed otherness by responding to the heterogeneity of others. We can find that what has been revealed by these relations are organising impulses in Dashilar. These organising impulses, however, do not pre-exist singular cases or result from the exhaustive enumeration of specific cases. Although they have constituted certain socio-spatial fabrics, these organising impulses do not necessarily recur to the point of becoming generalities in Dashilar.

How these *contingent relations* reveal certain organising impulses of Dashilar can be well understood with the assistance of Giorgio Agamben's theorisation of the *paradigm*. As no hegemonic force has dominated the formation of Dashilar, no common model pre-exists the socio-spatial ordering of Dashilar. Consequently, neither induction nor deduction is the appropriate way to navigate Dashilar. Instead, *paradigm*, as Agamben theorises it, implies the "total abandonment of the particular-general couple as the model of logical inference."[1] In Agamben's theorisation, a singular case would become a *paradigm* if it is exposed in the medium of its knowability and, thereby, makes intelligible a series of phenomena whose kinship is not *a priori* and cannot be stated in any other ways. On the one hand, this *paradigm* cannot exist in isolation from either the particularity of the singular case or the many other co-existent phenomena. On the other hand, this *paradigm* never presupposes the ensemble of phenomena. In this sense, the Agambenian *paradigm* is important for coming to terms with Dashilar's socio-spatial ordering.

[1] Giorgio Agamben, "What Is a Paradigm?" in *The Signature of All Things: On Method* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009), 21.

Those *contingent relations* are thus *paradigmatic* and can be viewed as co-extensive *paradigms*. It is noteworthy that we cannot enumerate the *paradigms* as parts of Dashilar. A *paradigm* is not a presupposition with regard to the series of phenomena that it makes intelligible. It thus stands neither in the past nor in the present, but *beside* those phenomena and in their constellation. As Agamben puts it, "the historicity of the paradigm lies neither in diachrony nor in synchrony but in a crossing of the two."[2] To this extent, we can always find—or, more precisely, produce—new *paradigms* by reviewing the socio-architectural phenomena of Dashilar in new contexts.

6.1.2 The Latourian *Thing* as Irreducible Entity and Embodiment of Paradigmatic Relations

The Agambenian *paradigm* permits the comprehensibility of Dashilar as an ordering system: if we keep exploring *paradigmatic relations* therein, we can gradually make its socio-spatial ordering intelligible. Based on this understanding, we still need to develop an appropriate device to describe those *paradigmatic relations* to be found in Dashilar. Bruno Latour's theorisations provide means to address the need for such a descriptive device.

Latour's theorisations come to terms with Dashilar in that they affirm ontology as becoming rather than as being. Latour argues that neither human nor non-human entities are embedded in pre-existent or static structures; instead, the formation of our world starts from the contingent connections occurring between certain human and non-human entities. To comprehend such a world, Latour invokes an irreductionist and relationist ontology in which *actors* are not conceived of as fixed entities but are new ontological hybrids, *world-making entities*. In this sense, if we describe a certain socio-architectural phenomenon in Dashilar as a network as if it were the result of the action of an *actor*, this network would not lead to any reduction in the entities involved in such a

[2] Ibid., 31.

phenomenon; the network itself also has a real existence and can become a *world-making entity*. Relating this to Giorgio Agamben's theorisation of the *paradigm*, we can say that to describe a certain socio-architectural phenomenon in Dashilar as *actor-networks* is essential to revealing the *paradigmatic* quality of that phenomenon.

To reveal the *paradigmatic* qualities of socio-architectural phenomena in Dashilar, I focus on both the tangible and intangible formalities that endure in Dashilar through successive milieus. In this thesis, I have looked into the formalities of teacups, playhouses, water supply systems, shops, native-place lodges and the apocryphal stories of a garden in Dashilar. While these formalities are the outcomes of certain historical practices, they are also maintained and recurrently observed as *world-making entities* in ever-changing developing contexts. The nature of these formalities is thus, at the same time, one of irreducible entities and embodiments of certain *actor-networks* or *paradigmatic* relations.

Such a nature echoes how Latour uses the term *thing*. Based on the etymology of the word *thing* developed by Martin Heidegger, Latour reminds us that a *thing* has two senses: it is, in one sense, an object out of any dispute and, in another sense, a site to settle disputes.[3] To this extent, the Latourian *thing* is at the same time an irreducible entity and an embodiment of a *gathering*.[4] Therefore, I develop *thing* as a technical term in my analytical framework to describe the enduring formalities to be found in Dashilar.[5]

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[3] Bruno Latour, "Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern," *Critical Inquiry* 30, no. 2 (2004): 233.

[4] Latour indicates that the same word *thing* designates both *matters of fact* and *matters of concern*. Ibid., 231–233.

[5] The real situation of Dashilar substantiates the theorisations of *ontology-as-becoming* promoted by both Giorgio Agamben and Bruno Latour. The technical terms that I have used in this dissertation to describe the organising forces in Dashilar are all developed upon this theoretical basis. Besides *paradigm* and *thing*, I have also used *apparatus* as a technical term akin to *actor-network*. Agamben has worked on the term *apparatus* by recollecting how Michel Foucault includes it in his strategy of thought and pushing it further. In the Foucauldian strategy,

6.1.3 Architectures in Dashilar as Paradigmatic Heterotopias

In the first two subsections, I have discussed how the real situation of Dashilar substantiates the theorisations of *ontology-as-becoming* promoted by both Giorgio Agamben and Bruno Latour. On the same empirical basis, I have developed *heterotopia* as a technical term to explicate the salient features of the architectures in Dashilar.

These architectures—as smaller assemblages of varying formalities—are a significant aspect and embodiment of Dashilar's existential and expressive order. They have two salient features. First, they are different from one another for being contingent upon specific entities and their relations. This is well illustrated by the deviating shopfronts created by the traditional drugstores which have been built on similar plans to best serve their shared business. Second, the architectures in Dashilar gradually mutate in sophisticated ways to accommodate heterogeneous others. For example, the shops in Dashilar have referenced the playhouses when navigating their specialities; the silk fabric shops have innovated in their business management and architectural production based on critical evaluations of *Ruifuxiang*'s shopfront in new contexts; the itinerant dwellers have maintained their otherness by incorporating the narratives of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden into their temporary residences.

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as Agamben indicates, apparatus takes the place of the universals as a set of measures that control the behaviours and thoughts of human being. The Foucauldian apparatuses, as Agamben reminds us, must produce their subjects because otherwise their governance would be devoid of any foundation in being. Extending Foucault's theorisation, Agamben considers *apparatuses* as a class of beings that have the capacity to capture living beings or substances. Instead of apparatuses alone determining the processes of subjectification and, therefore, the living beings, Agamben contends that subjects as a third class of beings always result from "the relentless fight between living beings and apparatuses." Only in this way, *apparatuses* can act as organising forces without leading to any reduction to either living beings or substances. To this extent, the Agambenian *apparatus* is proximate to the Latourian *actor-network* and, therefore, is also used in this dissertation to describe the *paradigmatic* relations to be found in Dashilar. Giorgio Agamben, "What Is an Apparatus?" in *What Is an Apparatus: And Other Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 1–24.

Such features allow me to theorise the architectures in Dashilar as *heterotopias*: the architectures are heterotopic spaces, formalising their heterotopic characters by responding to the heterotopic characters of others. To this extent, an architecture would become *paradigmatic* when its characters make intelligible certain heterotopic orders of other spaces, and the same architecture can embody simultaneously multiple *paradigmatic relations*. Dashilar can thus be viewed as a world of *heterotopias*: the architecture nurtures and develops *heterotopias* as part of Dashilar's organising impulse.

This notion of *heterotopia* as driven by Dashilar has extended Michel Foucault's theorisation by making the term part of *an ontology of becoming*. Foucault used heterotopia as a device to explore political techniques through which hegemonic forces shape everyday practices. In his theorisation of heterotopia, spaces were considered as static beings in the synchrony of hegemonic forces. To this extent, Foucault made it a principle of heterotopia that "each heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can, according to the synchrony of culture in which it occurs, have one function or another."[6] However, as hegemonic forces are suspended in Dashilar, the notion of *heterotopia* instead reveals how everyday practices gradually build up a larger construct as an ordering system. In this theorisation, spaces are in a process of becoming and striving to be what they are not yet. To this extent, each *heterotopia* has multiple functions, which are contingent upon how other spaces respond to its heterotopic characters.

6.2 From Historical Reconstruction to a Theory of Urbanism

By visiting extant architectures and various kinds of historical accounts, I have given three examples of the many co-extensive *paradigms* to be found in Dashilar. These three examples reveal respectively the *paradigmatic relations*

[6] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, no.1 (1986): 25.

embodied by teacups, shopfronts and the apocryphal stories of the Mustard Seed Garden. Through these three examples, we can see how the formalities of everyday life in Dashilar as *things* have been organisational impulses of hybrid orders and how they have caused both social and material consequences to serial architectures as *heterotopias*. These three examples constitute a socio-architectural history of Dashilar. In one sense, such historical reconstruction—instead of reducing Dashilar to an idealistic representation of specific historical features—is a retroactive analysis of the heterogeneous processes that have informed certain of Dashilar's socio-spatial fabrics. In another sense, such historical reconstruction is also part of a proactive theory of urbanism that can be extended to other historic cities and places.

6.2.1 The Historical Reconstruction Reveals the "Extraterritorial" Condition of Dashilar

By reconstructing the socio-architectural history of Dashilar as networks of teacups, shopfronts and the apocryphal stories of the Mustard Seed Garden, we can see that the adaptivity and uniqueness of Dashilar rooted in the specificities of the everyday life therein. Instead of following the homogeneous logic of a pre-existing plan, the socio-spatial ordering of Dashilar is contingent upon the heterogeneous logics of everyday practices. By suspending the tight codifications of normalising systems but allowing the heterogeneities of everyday life to be incorporated into its fabric, Dashilar was able to develop its own *interiority* – dynamics of specific relationships between people and things as organising forces. To this extent, Dashilar becomes an "extraterritorial"[7] space which is geographically proximate to the Forbidden City.

[7] Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Such an "extraterritorial" condition to some extent continues in Dashilar until the present day. As noted by Harriet Evans, the social world of the residents in Dashilar "has been profoundly shaped by [its] spatial and physical fabric;" therefore, "place, space and temporality are crucial interpretative categories for understanding lives that despite being shaped by the state's policies of social and political classification, housing and employment have been resistant to complete appropriation by them."[8]

Everyday life in Dashilar—although it remains continuously local—is highly connected with other places and, therefore, can make intelligible the orders of other places. For instance, as I have discussed, the multiple codifications of customers have made the lower entry of the traditional drugstore *Tongren tang* in Dashilar a prominent representation of its business merits. This allows us to comprehend why *Tongren tang* has set up a store on the underground floor leading customers downstairs into the shop in *Wangfujing*, one of the most significant commercial centres of contemporary Beijing—this can be a replication of the lower entry of its oldest store in Dashilar (Plate 74). For another example, *Liulichang*'s book dealers relocated from Dashilar in Beijing to the foreign-dominated embankment of the Huangpu River in Shanghai during the early twentieth century. Therefore, how this specific group of itinerant dwellers maintained and communicated their otherness in *Liulichang* also helps understand the development of Republican Shanghai's *Wenhuajie* 文化街 (Culture-and-Education Streets, or simply Booksellers' District).[9]

To this extent, the "extraterritorial" condition of Dashilar allows us to better grasp everyday life as a productive impulse in social-spatial orderings, alongside dominant political powers. Reconstructing Dashilar's socio-

[8] Harriet Evans, "Neglect of a Neighbourhood: Oral Accounts of Life in 'Old Beijing' since the Eve of the People's Republic," *Urban History* 41, no.4 (2014), 689.

[9] Christopher A. Reed, "Dukes and Nobles Above, Scholars Below: Beijing's Old Booksellers' District Liulichang 琉璃厂, 1769–1941 – and Its Influence on 20th-Century Shanghai's Book Trade," *East Asian Publishing and Society* (2015) 5, 74–128.

architectural history as many co-extensive everyday *paradigms* is important to understand not only the special complexity of Dashilar but also that of some other urban areas in Beijing and even other cities in China, where visitors and itinerant dwellers from Dashilar constitute certain nuanced patterns through their everyday practices.

6.2.2 Dashilar as an Urban Paradigm: An Analytical Framework of *Spaces of Becoming*

Such historical reconstruction of Dashilar as co-extensive *paradigms* is important for us to understand the special complexities of other cities or city quarters. In one aspect, as I have discussed in the previous subsection, the specialities of Dashilar's everyday life have had a direct influence on the socio-spatial orderings of other places, like *Tongren tang*'s store in the Inner City of Beijing and a booksellers' district in Shanghai. In another aspect, comparing Dashilar to the Forbidden City, where everyday life is fully submitted to ideology, Dashilar is a more pervasive phenomenon where everyday life can gradually form an apolitical and ontological order. To this extent, such historical reconstruction of Dashilar can provide many other places with an analytical framework to reveal how the specificities of everyday life therein have constituted their own socio-spatial orders.

Dashilar is an extraordinary case of everyday life as an organising force in socio-spatial ordering because of its specific location. On the one hand, sitting outside the well-planned capitals, Dashilar was not codified by any hegemonic power. On the other hand, Dashilar's proximity to the main entrance of the Inner City made it a place to accommodate and serve a wide variety of residents and visitors. The diversity and mobility of people in Dashilar constantly nurtured heterogeneities in everyday life, which in turn gradually constituted remarkably complex *heterotopias*. In such socio-spatial ordering, not only architectural elements—for example, shopfronts—but also other

things—such as (tangible) teacups and (intangible) narratives of a garden—served as productive mediators.

However, Dashilar is not a unique case of everyday life playing a constitutive role in the process of socio-spatial ordering. Besides Dashilar, there are other historic cities or spaces the architectural nuances of which are not fully planned or designed according to ideology but are contingent upon the specificities of everyday life (e.g. Paris as an "invisible city" as elaborated by Bruno Latour[10]). Such nuances, however, are often overshadowed by the normalising structures of formal plans and, therefore, have eluded or could elude our gaze. Dashilar as an extraordinary case reminds us of the importance of such nuances: they are at the same time irreducible entities and the embodiments of certain agencies of everyday life, and they are thus both the basis of and the means to create special complexities of those historic spaces.

To better grasp their special complexities, we need to view those historic spaces as *spaces of becoming*. In other words, their spatial orders are not as static as prescribed structures imposed by formal plans; instead, they are also contingent upon the dynamics of everyday life. To reveal their spatial orders as the heterogeneous logics that exist in everyday practices, we need to trace the contingent relations between different entities which make intelligible a group of socio-architectural phenomena. These contingent relations are thus co-extensive *paradigms*.

6.2.3 Dashilar Provides an Alternative Perspective to Urban Design and Planning

It is not uncommon that historic cities and city quarters have featured in studies of anthropology or history. However, there is often a misalignment between

[10] Bruno Latour, Emilie Hermant, and Susanna Shannon, *Paris ville invisible* (Paris: La Découverte, 1998).

the specific social-architectural history and contemporary social-architectural values. That is to say, the special complexity of a historic space is usually ignored in favour of a more normalised approach to order in contemporary urban practices—that is, a tendency towards regulation under typological or conventionally paradigmatic planning regimes or heritage programmes. To this extent, Dashilar is a good case on which to start aligning these two aspects.

The special complexity of Dashilar is rooted in the specificities of everyday life therein. For example, from the detailed account of the teacups and the various water supply/delivery systems, we can understand how *things* and *networks* (apparatuses) have intertwined in multiple ways to provide complex everyday practices. At the same time, this complexity verifies how everyday practices can gradually mutate in sophisticated ways to accommodate heterogeneous others. To this extent, it is the complexity of everyday practices that makes Dashilar a unique and adaptive urban area. Thus, urban design and planning in Dashilar ought to retain its complex orders rather than submit to overarching others. This requires us to think about an alternative perspective for urban design and planning.

How can we urban designers and planners enter this rich situation of Dashilar and participate in its special dynamics? First of all, we need to reconsider the role of urban design and planning. Dashilar is a *space of becoming*, where contingent fabrics constantly have both social and material consequences. To this extent, the objective of urban design and planning ought not to regulate the divergent operations according to a singular ideal, but rather to record the existing agencies based on a critical evaluation of the contingent fabrics in a newly interpreted situation. As the arrangements created by the practices of urban design/planning become part of the constructed fabric of Dashilar, they would stimulate mutations in everyday practices and allow new agencies to emerge. In this way, such arrangements would gradually come to terms with the multiple complex assemblages of difference and develop varied means of

encouraging rich assemblages between people and things. In this sense, urban design/planning is at the same time a process and means, an assemblage of heterogeneous apparatuses.

To create such an arrangement, we need to establish sufficient knowledge of the existing fabrics. This requires us to keep looking for everyday *things*—tangible and intangible formalities—that have taken on the constitutive roles in the formation of Dashilar's socio-spatial fabrics. By archiving Dashilar through the ontologies of many everyday *things* to be found therein, we would be able to engage with various *actors* and participate intimately in their ways of communicating with each other. This archive, therefore, serves as an important database of urban practice. Not only does it illustrate the approach of seeking to interweave existing socio-spatial fabrics, but it also reveals the salient entities in the existing socio-spatial fabrics that are to be remeasured and reinstituted as new assemblages with the same dynamism as such a heterotopic context.

By bringing certain entities, and the heterogeneous agencies that they embody, into arrangement, we can create a space connected with multiple strands of everyday practices. Such an arrangement may lead to the development of mixed-use spaces like the eighteenth-century playhouses. It is noteworthy that this arrangement is different from the conventional approach of hybridity and mixed uses adopted by culture-led urban regeneration—for example, the Temple Bar project in Dublin[11]. Instead of proposing a specific form of mix and applying the principle of cross-subsidy to maintain such mix, the arrangement here simply allows the existing agencies to work out complex orders on their own terms.

[11] John McCarthy, "Dublin's Temple Bar: A Case Study of Culture-led Regeneration," *European Planning Studies*, Volume 6, Issue 3 (1998): 271–281.

Besides advocating for urban design as a process of recording existing agencies, Dashilar also suggests innovations in planning policy. For example, the conventional procedure usually starts with master planning, then zoning and finally architectural design. However, this procedure is not appropriate to Dashilar and other historic spaces of similarly complex orders, because the scheme for the whole area can only be proposed based on the assemblages of parts. To this extent, new policies are to be made to allow the process of planning to start with individual architectural designs as a way of exploring different-scale speculations of varying *agencies-of-production*.

6.3 Re-envisioning Dashilar as Comics

In this dissertation, I have given an ongoing representation of Dashilar by describing Dashilar through the ontologies of the teacups, the shopfronts and the apocryphal stories of the Mustard Seed Garden. To allow this representation to be read as an assemblage of apparatuses and at the same time contingencies, I have worked deliberately on the organisations of text and images. The specific way of how I have organised text and images in this representation of Dashilar is also a critical response to the architectural comic of Dashilar created by Li Han and Hu Yan[12]. This response is needed because this comic is commonly regarded as an exciting and radical project, but turns out to not recognise the special complexity of Dashilar's socio-spatial ordering and ultimately leads to flattening and smoothing rather than a textured and vibrant experientiality.

It is important that both text and images play essential and interchangeable roles in the production of this ongoing representation of Dashilar. On the one hand, the juxtaposition of various narratives and visual materials (photographs, maps and architectural drawings) can reveal the real existence of some

[12] Li Han 李涵 and Hu Yan 胡妍, *Yidianer Beijing: Dashilar* 一点儿北京: 大栅栏 [A Little bit About Beijing: Dashilar] (Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 2015).

perplexing patterns in the socio-spatial fabrics of Dashilar. By dealing with these perplexing patterns, my analysis has developed specific threads along which to navigate these texts and images, and their corresponding existence in reality. This role of text and images can be best illustrated in the shop front chapter: by reading the mappings of "modern architecture" and of the "healthcare system" together, I have found a discrepancy in the division of "modern" and "traditional" between the medical practice and its architectural production in Dashilar during the early twentieth century; by reading together the photographs of various silk fabric shops, I have found that the intricacies of these shop fronts are not, as historians have indicated, simply a common arrangement that catered to the same occidental fashion in the early twentieth century,[13] but rather represent divergent ways of using text.

On the other hand, there are also examples of text and images that have been recognised by certain *actors* as the source of their specific actions and, therefore, have been reduced to certain formalities embodying their ideals. The specific formalities of these textual narratives and images have allowed me to trace the communication and influence among various senses of *interiority* in Dashilar. This role of text and images can be best illustrated in the chapter on the Mustard Seed Garden: as the physical arrangement and some claimed paintings of the Garden are now no longer visible, the many literary descriptions providing portrayals of the Garden serve as idealised "images" of

[13] Some examples include Zhu Yongchun 朱永春, "Baroque dui Zhongguo jindai jianzhu de yingxiang" 巴洛克对中国近代建筑的影响 [The Impact of Baroque on Chinese Modern Architecture], *Jianzhu xuebao* 建筑学报 [Architectural Journal], no. 3 (2000): 47–50; Zhang Fuhe 张复合, *Beijing Jindai jianzhu shi* 北京近代建筑史 [The Modern Architectural History of Beijing from the End of 19th Century to 1930s] (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2004), 26–34; Zhang Fuhe, *Tushuo Beijing jindai jianzhu shi* 图说北京近代建筑史 [An Illustrated History of the Modern Architecture in Beijing] (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2008), 26–37; Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 [Historical Atlas of the South of Xuanwu, Beijing] (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 96–99; Ma Quanbao 马全宝, Wang Yang 王阳, and Bao Jialiang 包佳良, "Dashilar diqu laozihao choubuzhuang de baohu yanjiu" 大栅栏地区老字号绸布庄的保护研究 [Research on the Protection of the Time-honored Brand Silk Cloth Shops in Dashilar Area], *Yichan yu baohu yanjiu* 遗产与保护研究 [Research on Heritages and Preservation] 3, no. 7 (2018): 41–45.

it; and the recurrence of these idealised “images” have allowed me to navigate the formation of different identities in Dashilar.

Based on this understanding, I have juxtaposed text and images in separate volumes. Such an organisation stresses that images are not subordinate to the text, and the assemblages of images can embody intellectual argumentations independently of the text.[14] Not only that; I attempt to encourage the reader to read the two volumes together and at the same time. This way of reading will free the reader from the limitations presented by either the purely textual or the purely visual, which may allow the possibility of making new connections through juxtaposition.

Bearing in mind that the representation of Dashilar is both an assemblage of apparatuses and contingencies, I revisit Li Han and Hu Yan’s architectural comic about Dashilar, which also provides complex serials of images and texts. I find their comic disappointing because it describes Dashilar through a normalised approach to representation—the text and images comply with the same deployment, the text consists of Chinese characters that are equally conforming, and the images give perfect shapes to objects. Such an approach to representation inevitably flattens the nuances of Dashilar and reduces reading to an inactive experience. In response, I question to what extent and how we can re-envision Dashilar through comics that help explore and communicate the special complexity of Dashilar.

Let us first take a close look at Li Han and Hu Yan’s comic about Dashilar. It is not surprising that this comic book can easily attract the attention of potential readers, because its cover is rather alluring for being a perplexing panoramic image of Dashilar (Plate 11). This panorama shows Dashilar as an assembly

[14] The assemblage of images in the second volume of this dissertation have the potential to be better organised and developed into architectural drawings that can explicate certain intellectual argumentations in their own right.

of heterogeneous spaces in different scales, drawing this assembly from multiple vantage points, and exposing the interiors of the numerous spaces by lifting the roofs and misaligning the façades. While being impressed by the density of details and the enormous amount of irregularities, one will also identify a system of electric wires that connects all the spaces, drawn as fine black lines; these threads allow the curious eyes to move from one detail to another. In this way, this panorama indicates the complexity of Dashilar and alludes to the existence of a specific ordering system.

Motivated by this cover, those readers who decide to open the book will naturally expect the content to offer a pathway that can enable them to better comprehend the perplexing composition of this panorama. But they will find the content of the book in sharp contrast to the cover: the images present clear geometries, and the text, in an identical form, uncovers each plot in a very straightforward way. Even though they may enjoy the specific art form and the stories related to the ten architectural projects, these curious readers will not be able to better comprehend the composition of the cover as they expected. The reason for the difficulty of the content in terms of meeting such expectations is that the ten architectural projects are treated as independent narratives; by giving a fixed plot to each narrative, the content solely aims at representing individual spaces without caring much about the sophisticated organising features of the neighbourhood as an assemblage.

To re-envision Dashilar as a comic, we first need to appreciate comics as a viable medium for elaborating the special complexity of Dashilar. At first glance, the comic form seems unable to accomplish this goal because it always conveys to the reader a "deliberate sequence"[15] devised by the author. Nonetheless, Nick Sousanis, through his thesis-as-comic called *Unflattening*, has demonstrated how comics can serve as a vehicle well-suited to

[15] Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1994), 9.

explorations that invite multiple perspectives and produce knowledge of tangled complexity.[16] Sousanis indicates that comics can be seen as "a connected space"[17] creating an interplay between the "sequential and simultaneous"[18]: comics encourage two types of attention while reading—one focused on the chain-like sequence, and the other drawing multiple and complex associations between different elements which are presented all at once (Plate 75). Through these two types of attention, the single form of the comic can allow multiple cohesive wholes to be explored, while enabling the many details, textures, and nuances of this form to remain "open, outwardly directed, and broadly alert."[19]

Through his work, Sousanis has shown us how to read comics in a different way and use them as a critical tool for exploring new understandings of the "connected space" as a whole. As shown by the cover of Li Han and Hu Yan's comic book, Dashilar is a "connected space" where many heterogeneous elements are presented all at once and associations are to be drawn between these elements so as to present a cohesive whole. In this way, this cover—a perplexing panorama of Dashilar—reminds the reader to deploy both types of attention when navigating the book. To this extent, it is the cover that has told us how to read the content, rather than the other way around.

This way of reading comics requires more meticulous studies of the juxtaposed elements so as to identify associations across the pages which may illuminate the whole. Although Li Han and Hu Yan have to a great extent omitted the nuances of the spaces in their comics, we can still find some iterative details in different spaces which may allow us to explore them as potential organising

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[16] Nick Sousanis, *Unflattening* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015). This book and the view of comics as a critical tool in their own right was introduced by Dr Ella Chmielewska in two of my annual reviews, on 6th December, 2017 and 23rd August, 2019.

[17] Ibid., 62.

[18] Ibid., 62.

[19] Ibid., 63.

forces in contemporary Dashilar. For instance, we can see that the coffee cup appears on many different occasions—in an architects' office,[20] in the studio of a fashion designer,[21] in various restaurants and cafes with special philosophies,[22] and even in the private study room of Akhund Wang 王阿訇 who is in charge of the religious services in the Qianmen Mosque.[23] This recurrent presence of the coffee cup suggests that we should explore its role in the formation of the contemporary socio-spatial fabrics of Dashilar.

Nonetheless, Li Han and Hu Yan still fall short in respect of giving textures and nuances to the images and texts in their comic book. As a result, we can hardly identify those already-known formalities that have played constitutive roles in Dashilar. For example, the comic book does not present us with any blue-and-white teacups; teacups are portrayed in many different places in this comic book, but they have all been reduced to an abstract shape filled with a certain colour, leaving limited room for the reader to explore Dashilar through this image.[24] By taking a walk in Dashilar today, however, we still find the blue-and-white teacups playing different roles at various sites (Plate 76). In *Sanqing yuan* 三庆园 (The Sanqing Playhouse), the blue-and-white teacups are now given to the audience members once they find their seats in the hall after purchasing their tickets from the box office outside the hall, which was added to the original construction in the early twentieth century. The small restaurants selling traditional local foods also use blue-and-white teacups to serve their customers. Moreover, we can find the blue-and-white teacups in different markets—being placed on the ground among many second-hand porcelain items and other kinds of everyday accessories, or being lined up outside an amenity specifically catering to foreign tourists as special souvenirs. These

[20] Li Han and Hu Yan, *Yidianer Beijing*, 27.
[21] Ibid., 81–82.
[22] Ibid., 42, 69, 104, 107–108, 110, 112.
[23] Ibid., 95.
[24] Ibid., 48, 50–51, 58, 75, 86–87, 90–91.

presences of the blue-and-white teacup allow us to ask: how is it now instituted by different *actors* in Dashilar? By answering this question, we can get to know more about the contemporary socio-spatial fabrics of Dashilar.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

Dashilar as a Necessary but Heterotopic Partner to the Ideal Beijing

On 29th January, 2013, the National Commission of the People's Republic of China formally made a submission to UNESCO, suggesting that the Central Axis of Beijing should be considered for nomination as a World Heritage Site. In this document, the 7.8-kilometre long axis is described as the most significant section of the old city of Beijing, which has dominated its order for hundreds of years.[25] In the presentation given to UNESCO, the working group of Beijing Central Axis Nomination proposed a buffer zone surrounding all the elements that make up the Central Axis (Plate 77).[26] In this proposal, the buffer zone is considered to conform to the Central Axis as a metaphysical system but also to be necessary for its conservation. To this extent, all the neighbourhoods included in this buffer zone are to be developed in such a way as to preserve the visual relations of this metaphysical system.

Because of its proximity to the Central Axis, Dashilar is included as part of this buffer zone. This means that it is seen as just another urban arrangement that needs to be brought into line with the ideal Beijing, through idealistic representations of specific historical features and through general typological methods of heritage reconstruction. In this thesis, however, I have shown that Dashilar does not conform to this physical and metaphysical axiality; instead, it is formed ontologically and exists in a symbiotic relationship with the

[25] UNESCO, "The Central Axis of Beijing (including Beihai)," accessed February 26, 2017, http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5802/.

[26] Lu Zhou and Sun Yan, "The Conservation of Beijing Central Axis: The Impact Valuation of Contemporary Architecture from the Perspective of HUL," accessed June 21, 2017, http://unesco.urbanismosevilla.org/unesco/sites/default/files/06.SunYan-Presentacion.pdf.

ideologically formed Beijing. To this extent, Dashilar is a necessary partner to the ideal Beijing but acts as a *heterotopic* partner that operates by a very different logic from that of axiality. Therefore, Dashilar cannot be simply generalised as part of the buffer zone; rather, its co-existent status with the Central Axis should be identified as a significant condition for the conservation of the old city of Beijing.

Dashilar Contributes to Theoretical Corpuses and Their Applications in Urban Theories

This research on Dashilar as a theory of urbanism relies on two aspects of enquiry—the theoretical and the contextual. Besides providing an alternative perspective to contemporary urban practice in Dashilar and other historic cities of complex orders, this research also contributes to a series of theoretical corpuses, philosophical, political, and architectural literatures that have helped me to gain precise intelligence on how to consider and re-arrange the insights to be found in the contextual corpus of Dashilar.

On the one hand, the real situation of Dashilar substantiates the theorisations of *ontology-as-becoming*. In this dissertation, I have discussed in detail how the Agambenian *paradigm* comes to terms with Dashilar. I have also elaborated on how the Latourian *thing* is appropriate to the nature of the many tangible and intangible ("invisible") formalities to be found in Dashilar. Besides *paradigm* and *thing* as two technical terms in my strategy of analysis, I have used a group of terms—including, for example, *apparatus* and *actor-network*—to describe Dashilar's socio-spatial ordering. These terms are all from the theorisations of *ontology-as-becoming* promoted by Giorgio Agamben and Bruno Latour.

On the other hand, Dashilar extends existing theorisations by making them part of an ontology of becoming. In this dissertation, my theorisation of

heterotopia is developed based on the character of Dashilar's socio-spatial ordering and, therefore, has extended Michel Foucault's elaboration on this term–instead of considering it in the synchrony of hegemonic forces, a *heterotopia* as driven by Dashilar takes a form of *construction* and reveals how everyday practices gradually build up a larger construct. This extension of Foucault's theorisation provides an alternative perspective to existing urban theories predicated upon the conventional understanding of heterotopia—for example, David Grahame Shane's *Recombinant Urbanism*.[27] At the same time, this extension allows the notion of *heterotopia* to be connected with a series of urban theories that advocate for an architecture as a part of the city striking a balance between a specialised *interiority* and an idealised *exteriority*—for example, Pier Vittorio Aureli's theorisation of an *absolute architecture*.[28]

Besides the theorisation of *heterotopia*, the special complexity of Dashilar can allow us to review other existing notions from both Chinese and Western theorisations and bring them into new urban theories. At the end of this dissertation, I would like to extend the scope of this thesis somewhat by giving an example. In this example, I will show how this analysis of Dashilar can contribute to the theorisation of *everyday life* and how this theorisation can lead to a new urban theory.

French philosophers, including Henry Lefebvre and Michael de Certeau, have appreciated the everyday as a site of laboratory power and creative resistance to oppression.[29] Such a notion of everyday life has been brought into the

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[27] Shane considers heterotopias as one of the three elements that make up a city. His heterotopia is a functional one, a space that contains the "rejected elements necessary to construct an urban system" in order to "help maintain the city's stability as a self-organising system." David Grahame Shane, *Recombinant Urbanism: Conceptual Modeling in Architecture, Urban Design and City Theory* (Chichester: J. Wiley, 2005).

[28] Aureli's theorisations of the *absolute architecture*, *island* and *archipelago* are akin to how I use the terms *heterotopia* and *extraterritorial spaces* in this thesis. Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture* (London: MIT Press, 2011).

[29] John Roberts, *Philosophizing the Everyday: Revolutionary Praxis and the Fate of Cultural Theory* (London: Pluto Press, 2006).

discussion of urbanism in an attempt to deconstruct the ideologies embodied by urban design, transforming them into multiple meanings of daily life.[30] In the case of Dashilar, however, we can find that urbanism and the everyday exist not simply in a relation of oppression and resistance. Instead, the everyday plays a constructive role in the heterogeneous processes of urban design and, thereby, characterises Dashilar as an urbanism. Through the examples of the teacup, shop front and the apocryphal stories of the Mustard Seed Garden, I have unfolded in this dissertation a carefully calibrated series of working practices around certain everyday *things* through time that have created some specific fabrics and dynamics of Dashilar. To this extent, the everyday has never been misaligned with urban design in Dashilar. Bearing in mind this different notion of *everyday life*, we no longer need to resort to either a top-down or bottom-up privilege in urban design. Seeing both the contingent and the constructed fabrics as organising forces, we can better mediate the everyday and extraordinary aspects of life in our socio-spatial production.

[30] This group of discussions focuses on describing different types of space in terms of levels of interactions between the *everyday* and urban planning/design practice, including for example self-organisation and participatory experiments, contested practices, temporary and multiple uses, etc. *Everyday Urbanism* can be a representative example of such discussion. Margaret Crawford, "Everyday Urbanism," in *Everyday Urbanism: Margaret Crawford vs. Michael Speaks*, ed. Rahul Mehrotra (New York: Distributed Arts Publishers, 2005), 16–32.

Navigating *Heterotopias* and *Things*: Dashilar as Co-extensive Urban Paradigms

Volume II

Peng Xue

Doctor of Philosophy
The University of Edinburgh
2019

Section One

Dashilar and Ideal Beijing

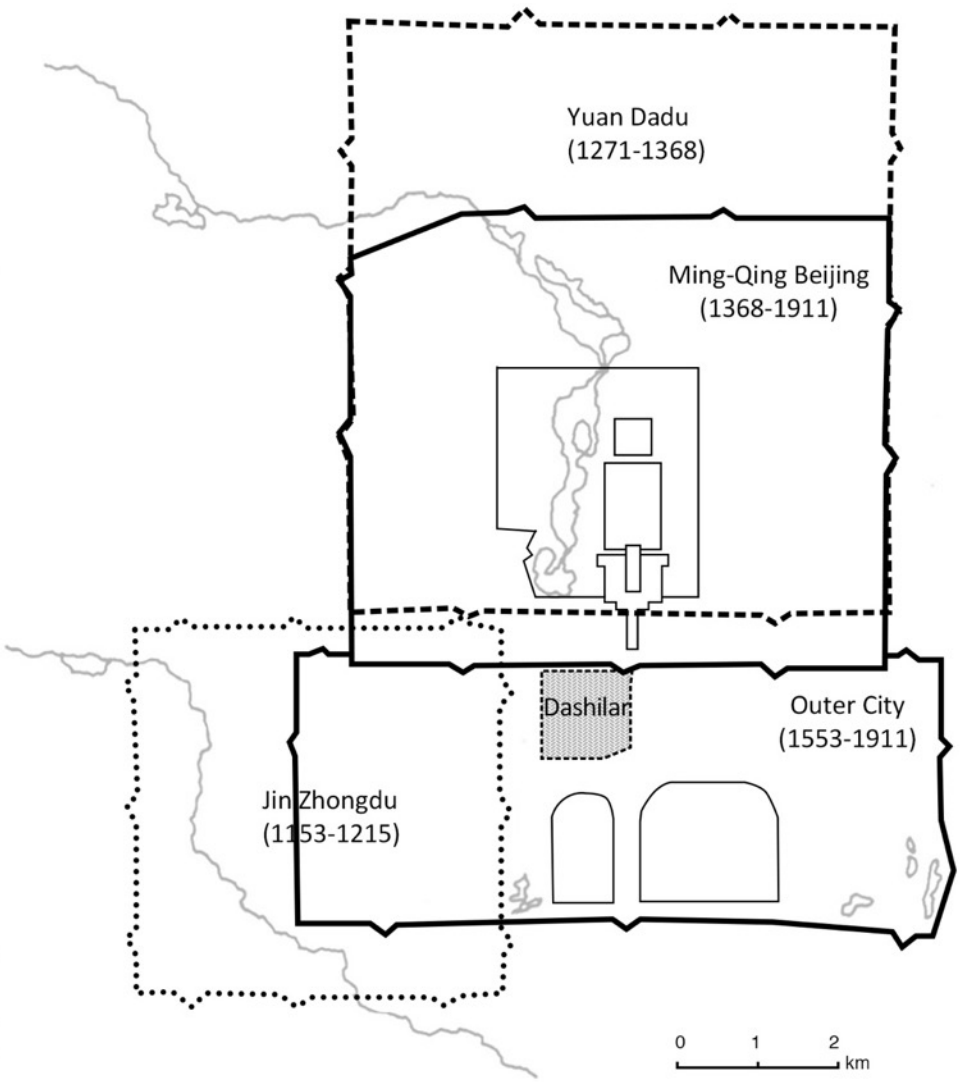


Plate 1 Dashilar developed on the margins of the old capitals

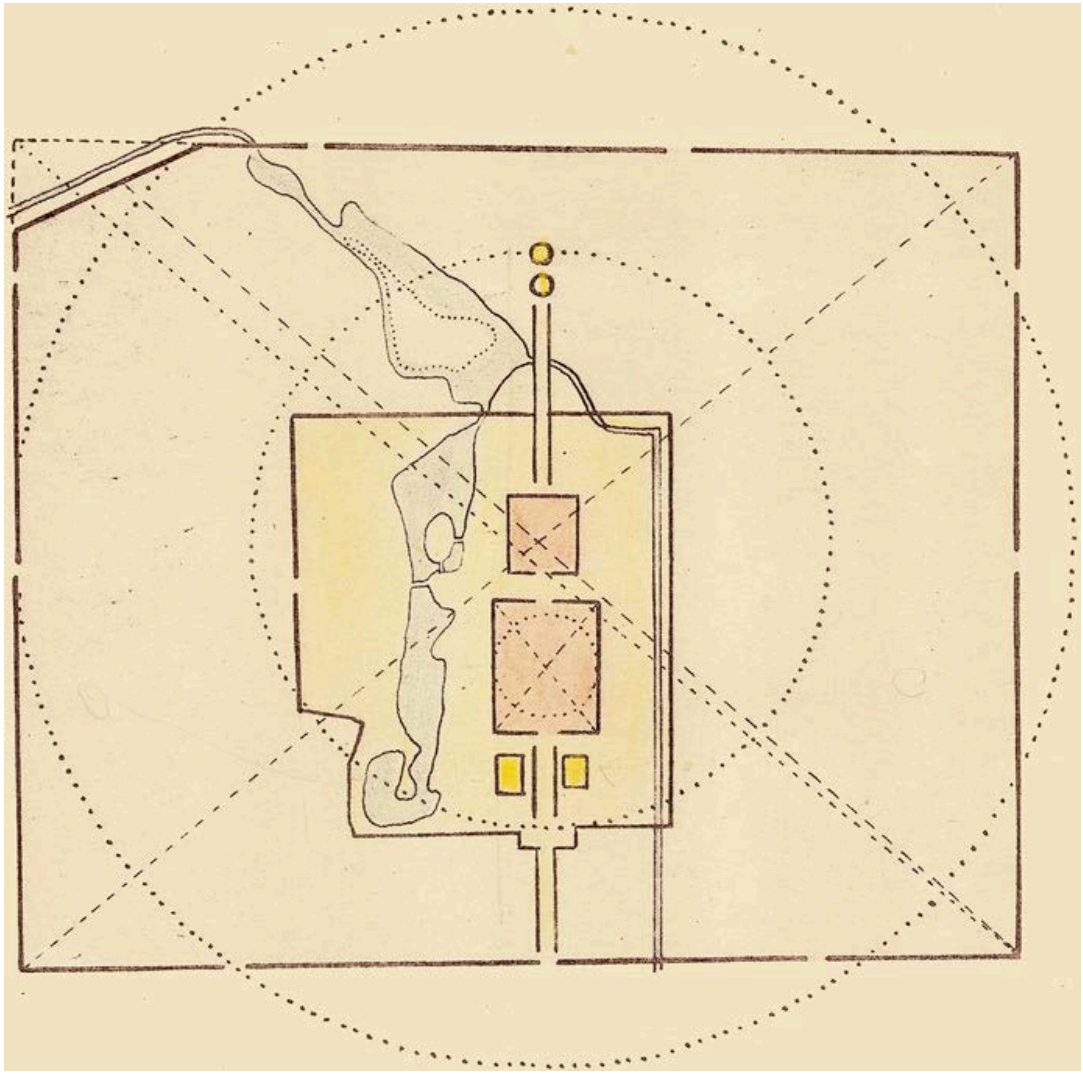


Plate 2 The Forbidden City defines the centre and axiality of the city

(a) Plan of the Inner City of Ming Beijing, in Hou Renzhi, *An Historical Geography of Peiping* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2014), Fig. 8.3.

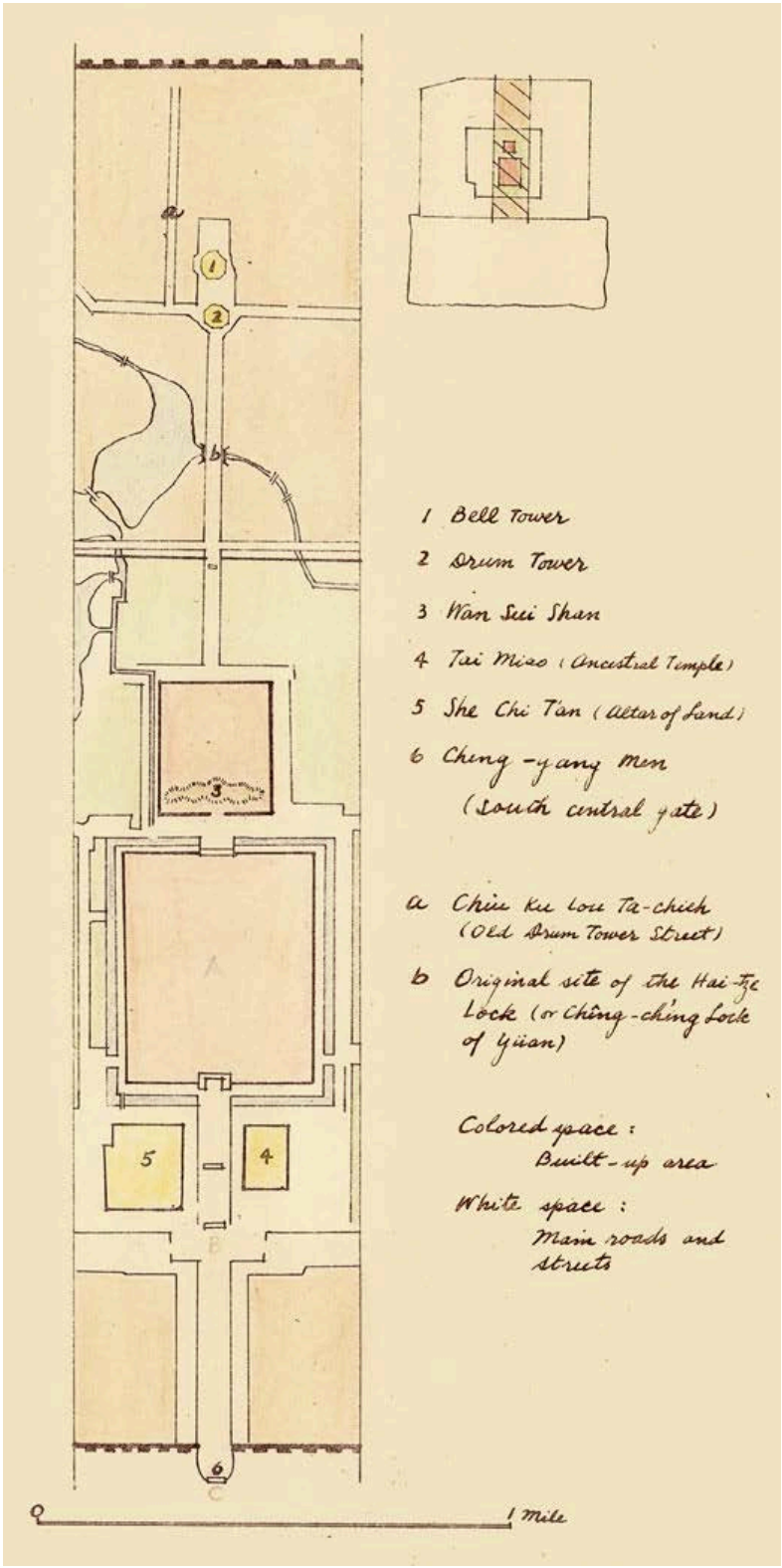


Plate 2 The Forbidden City defines the centre and axiality of the city

(b) Layout of the Central Axis of Ming Beijing, in Hou Renzhi, *An Historical Geography of Peiping* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2014), Fig. 8.4.

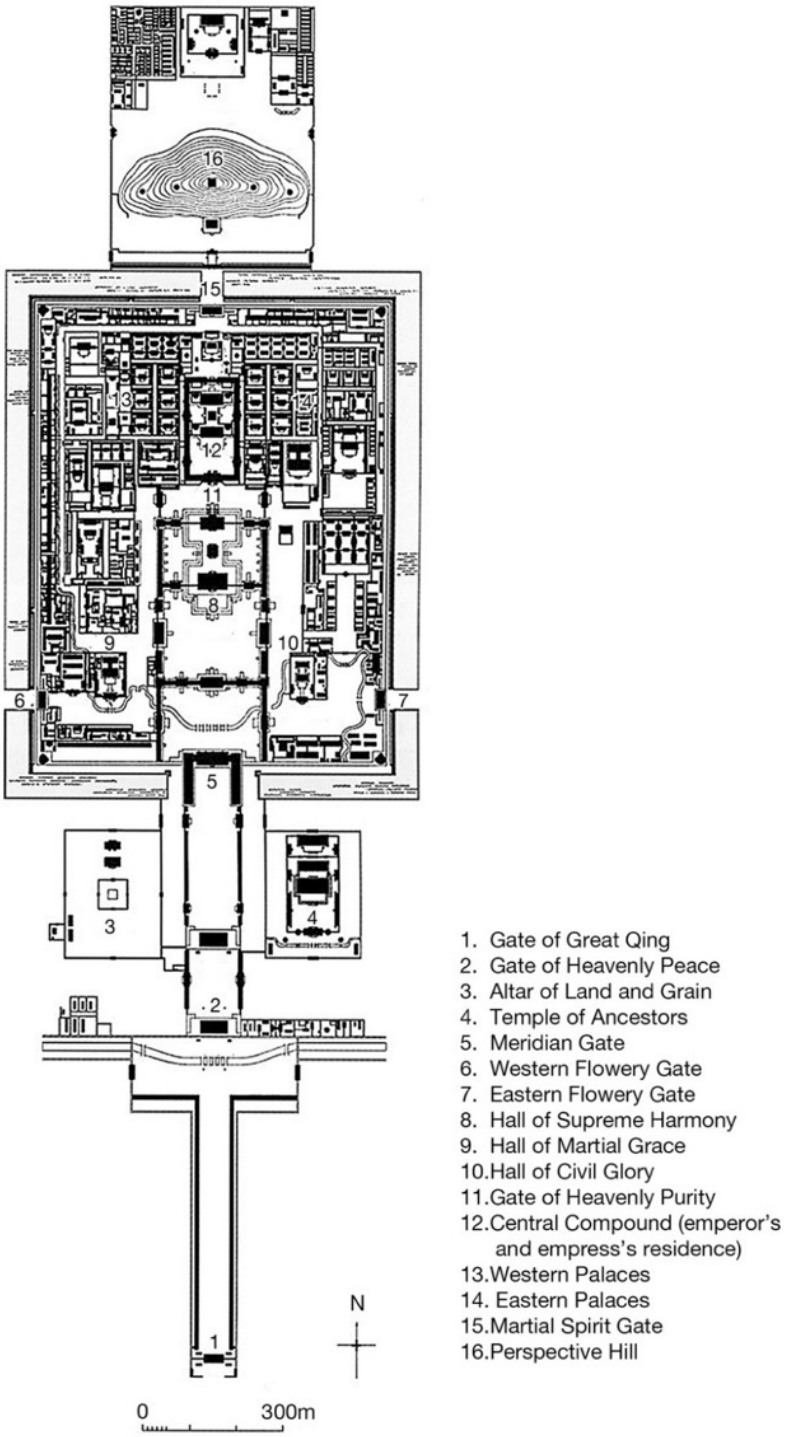


Plate 2 The Forbidden City defines the centre and axiality of the city

(c) Plan of the Forbidden City (Qing), adapted from Liu Dunzhen 刘敦桢, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* 中国古代建筑史 [History of Chinese Ancient Architecture] (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 1980), 282–283.

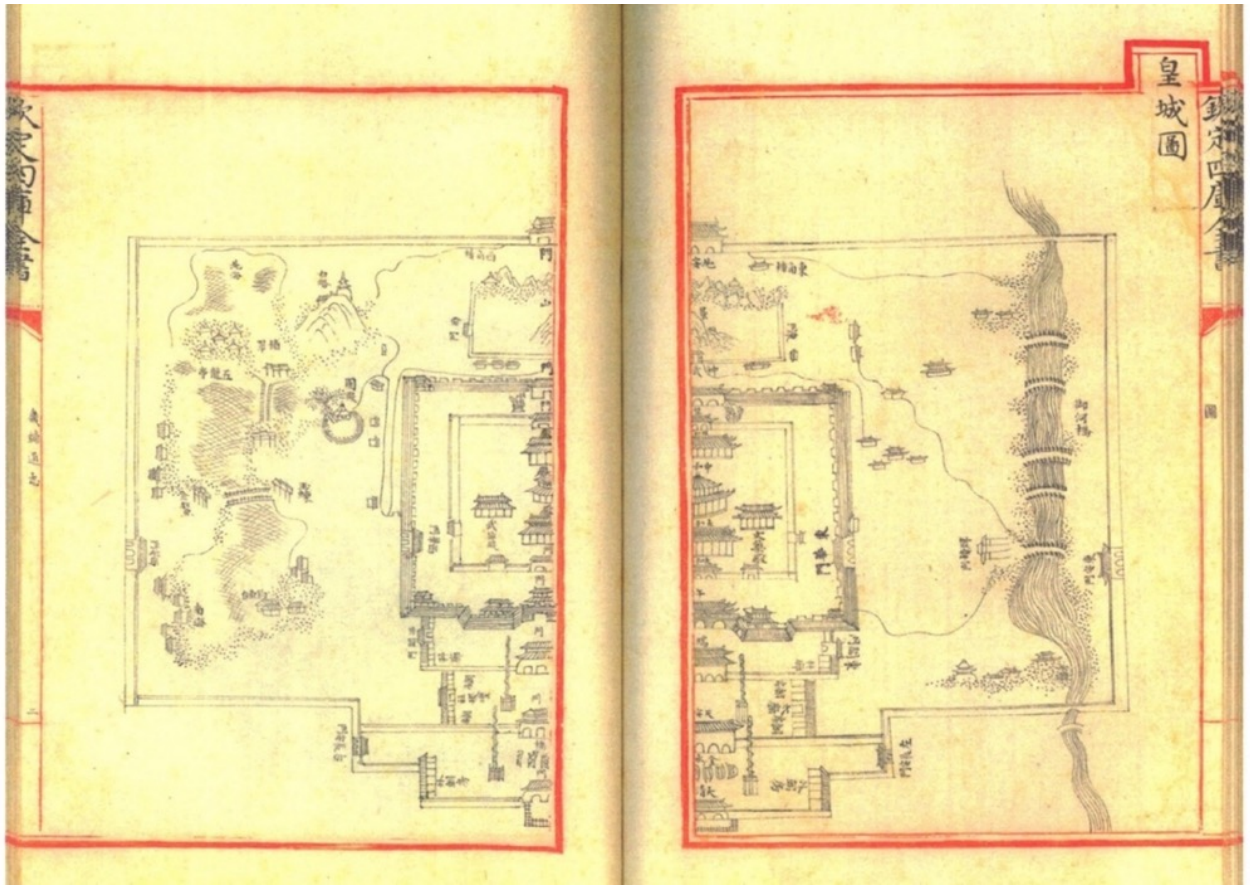


Plate 2 The Forbidden City defines the centre and axiality of the city

(d) Map of the Imperial City, Yongzheng period (1722–1735), from *Jifu tongzhi* 畿辅通志 [Gazetteers of the Capital Area], in *Beijing guditu ji* 北京古地图集 [Beijing in Historical Maps], ed. National Library of China (Beijing: Cehui chubanshe, 2010), 75.

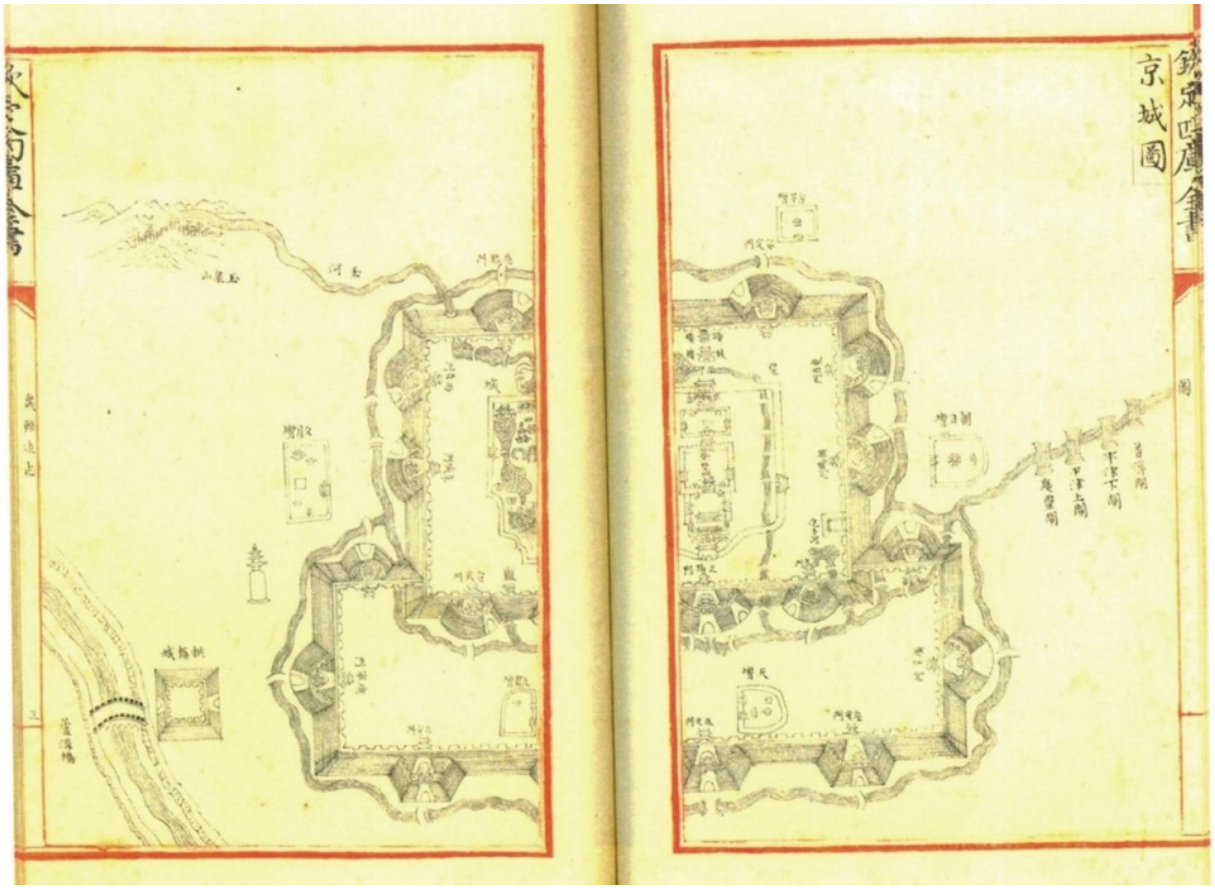


Plate 2 The Forbidden City defines the centre and axiality of the city

(e) Map of the Capital, Yongzheng period (1722–1735), from *Jifu tongzhi* 畿辅通志 [Gazetteers of the Capital Area], in *Beijing guditu ji* 北京古地图集 [Beijing in Historical Maps], ed. by National Library of China (Beijing: Cehui chubanshe, 2010), 76.

Plate 2 The Forbidden City defines the centre and axiality of the city

(f) Coal Hill and Forbidden City, photograph by Wulf Diether Graf zu Castell (1933), in *Chinaflug* (Berlin: Atlantis-Verlag, 1938), 64.

Plate 3 The spatial fabric of Dashilar developed over time

(a) Google Earth, accessed October 23, 2019.

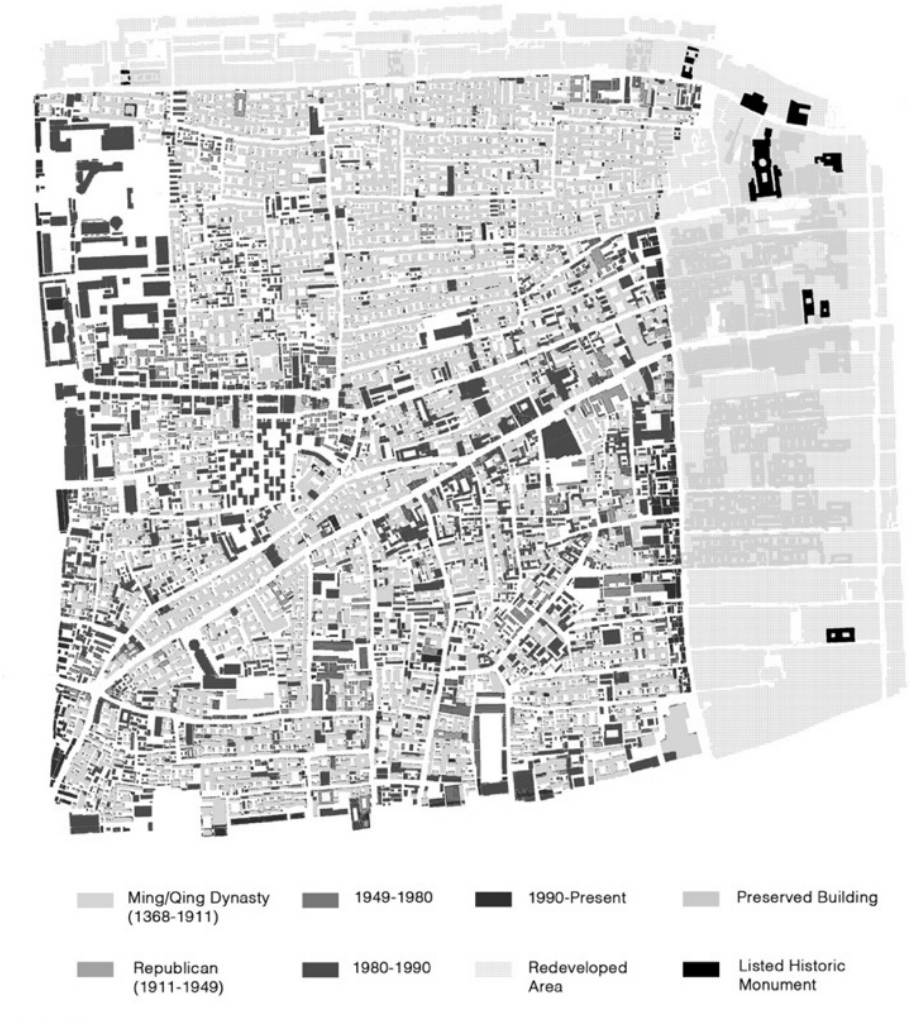


Plate 3 The spatial fabric of Dashilar developed over time

(b) Adapted from Beijing Municipal City Planning Commission, Conservation Planning of Dashilar Area, 2002.

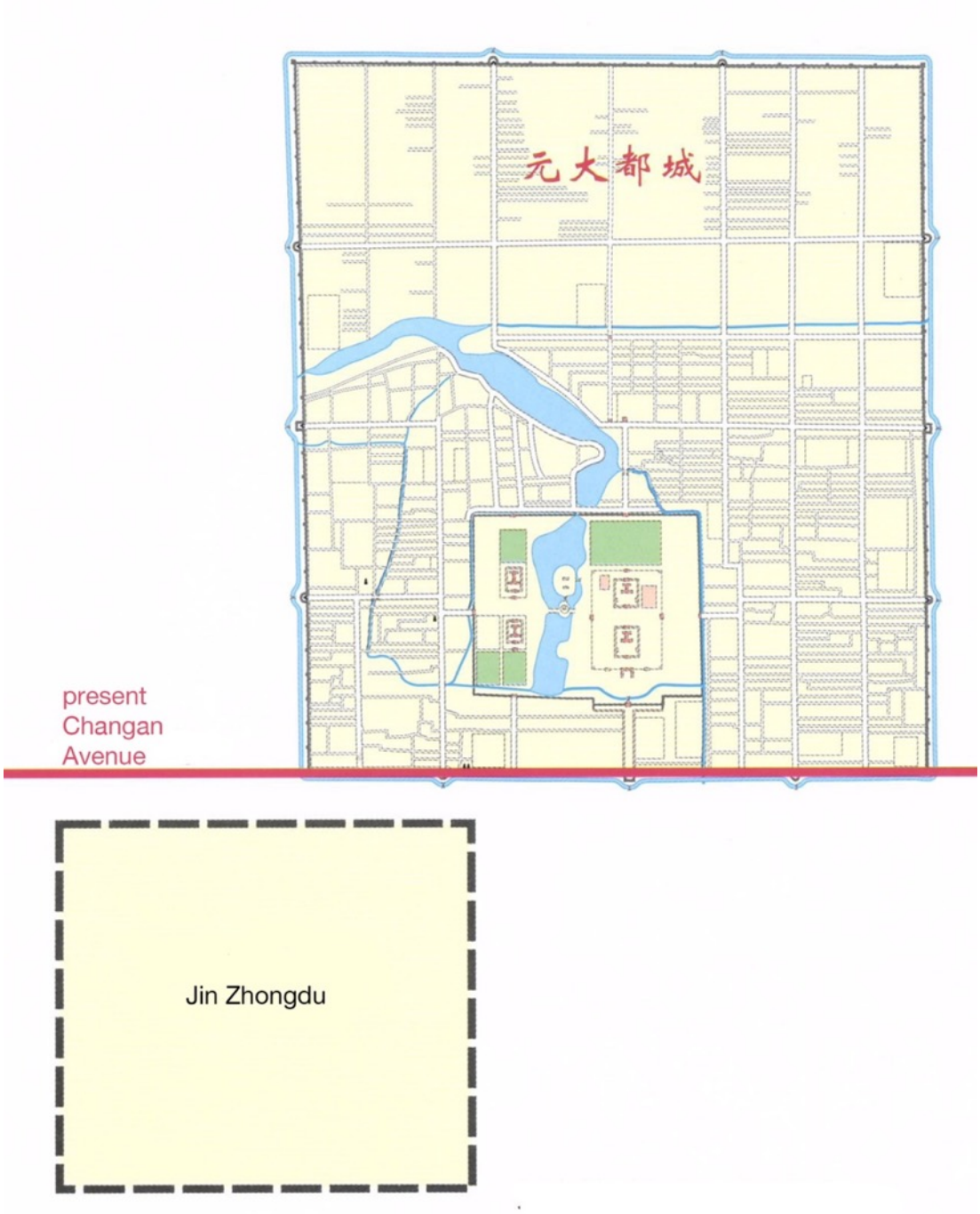


Plate 4 Dashilar and the Forbidden City exist in a symbiotic relationship

(a) Yuan Dadu (1272–1368), in Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 [Historical Atlas of the South of Xuanwu, Beijing] (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 19.

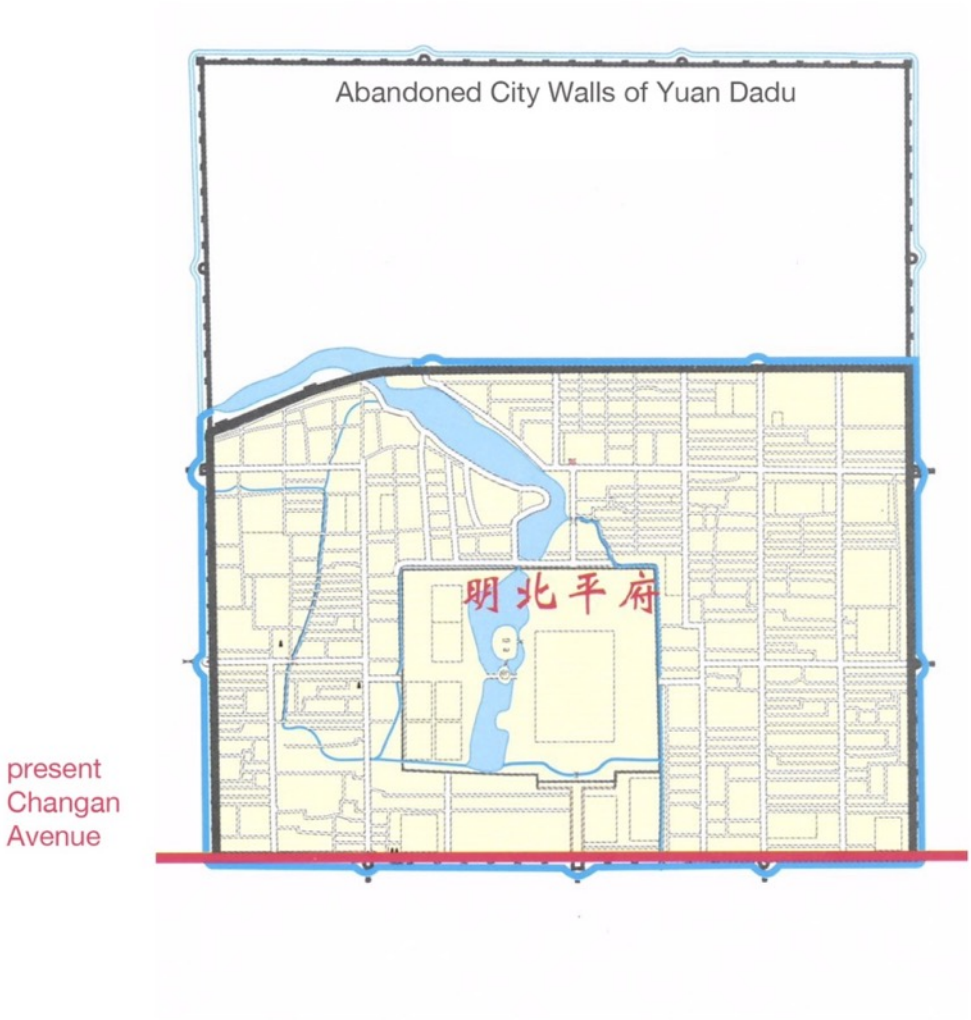


Plate 4 Dashilar and the Forbidden City exist in a symbiotic relationship

(b) Ming Beiping (1368–1419), in Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 [Historical Atlas of the South of Xuanwu, Beijing] (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 19.

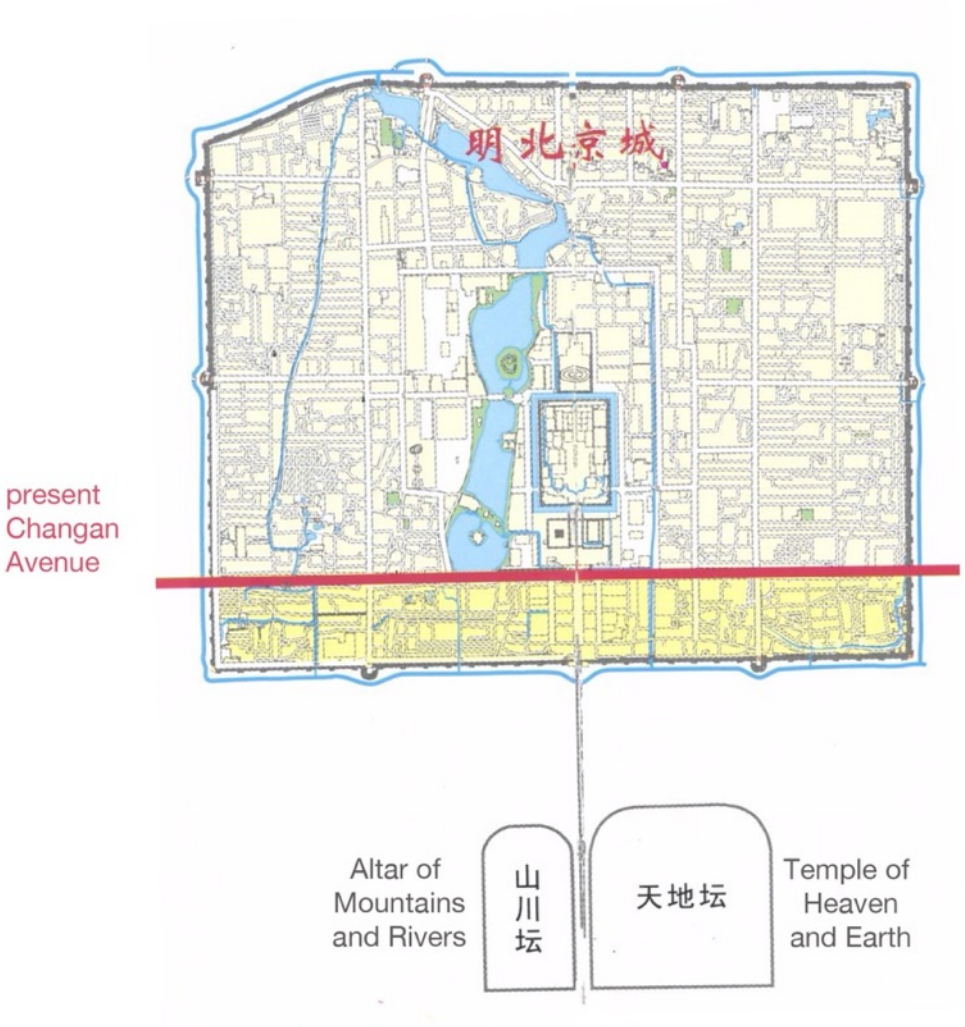


Plate 4 Dashilar and the Forbidden City exist in a symbiotic relationship

(c) Ming Beijing (1419–1529), in Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 [Historical Atlas of the South of Xuanwu, Beijing] (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 19.

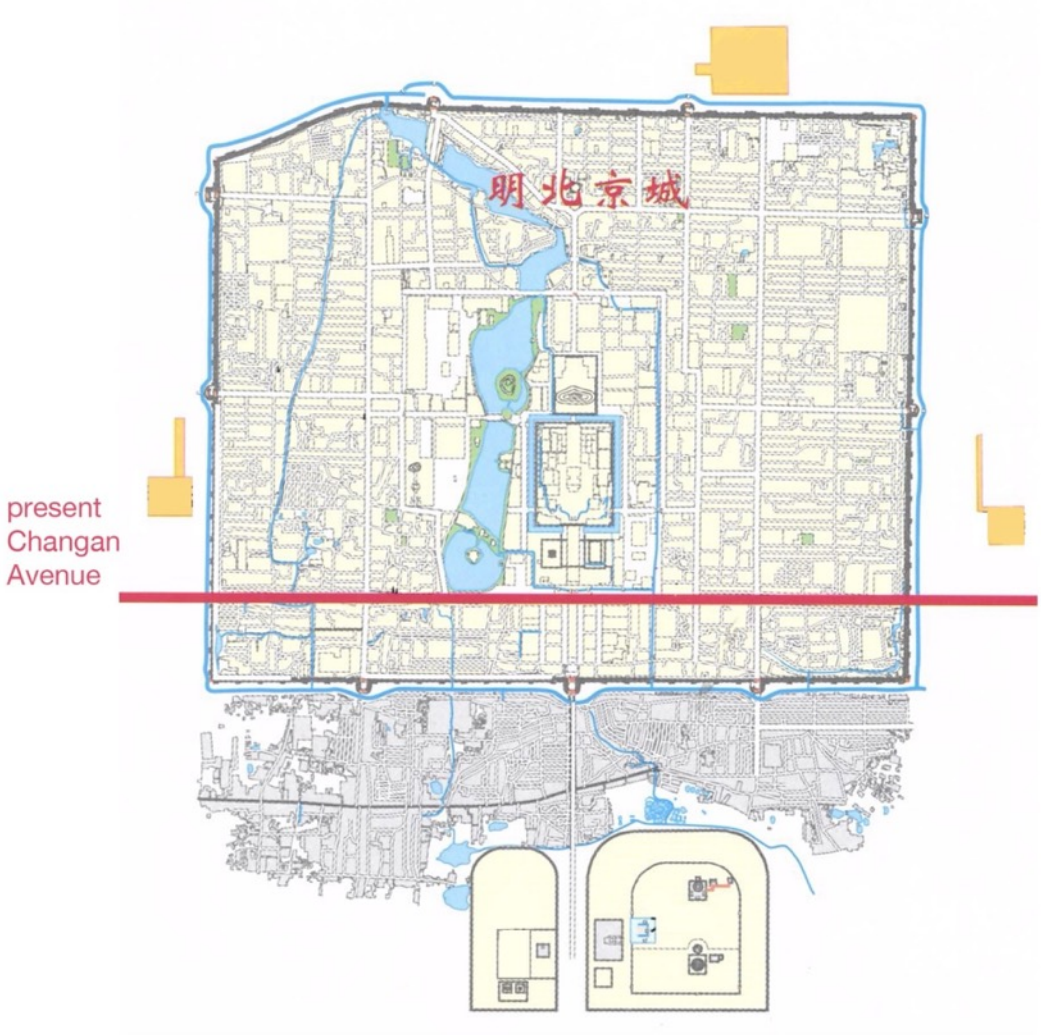


Plate 4 Dashilar and the Forbidden City exist in a symbiotic relationship

(d) Ming Beijing (1530–1552), in Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 [Historical Atlas of the South of Xuanwu, Beijing] (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 19.

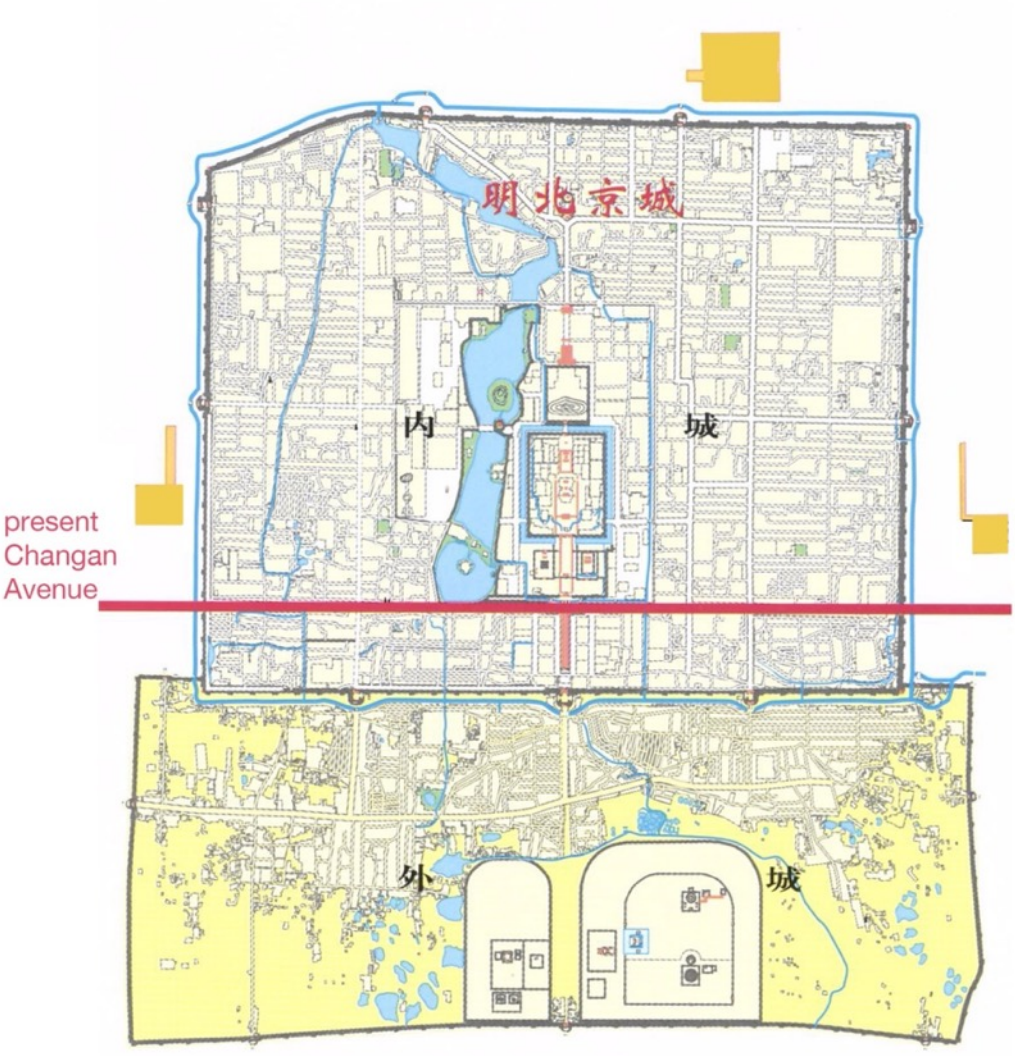


Plate 4 Dashilar and the Forbidden City exist in a symbiotic relationship

(e) Ming Beijing (1553–1644), in Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 [Historical Atlas of the South of Xuanwu, Beijing] (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 19.

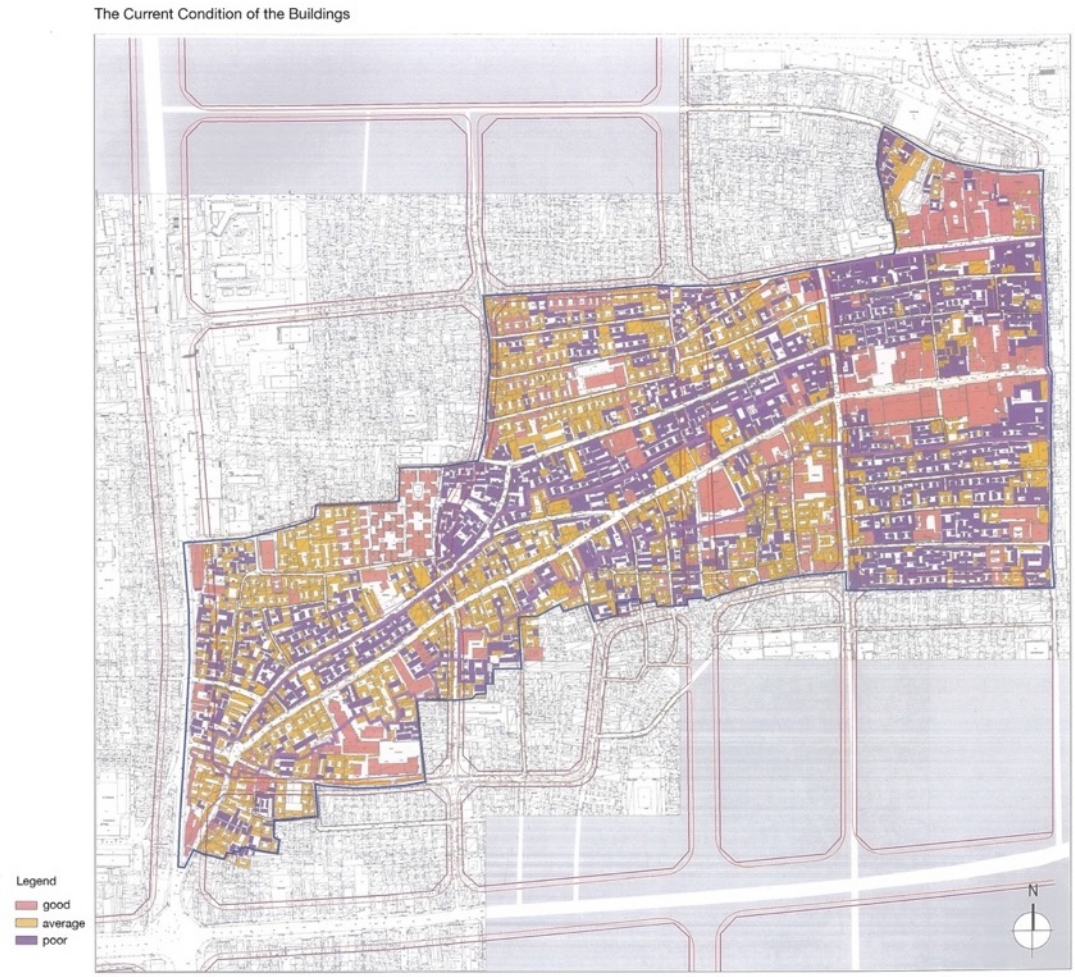


Plate 5 Conservation Planning of Twenty-Five Historic Areas in Beijing Old City (Dashilar Area)

(a) The current condition of the buildings, by Beijing Municipal City Planning Commission and Beijing Institute of Civil Engineering and Architecture, *Conservation Planning of Twenty-Five Historic Areas in Beijing Old City* (Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe, 2002), 291. Based on the extent of structural damage, building conditions fall into three levels – good, average, and poor.

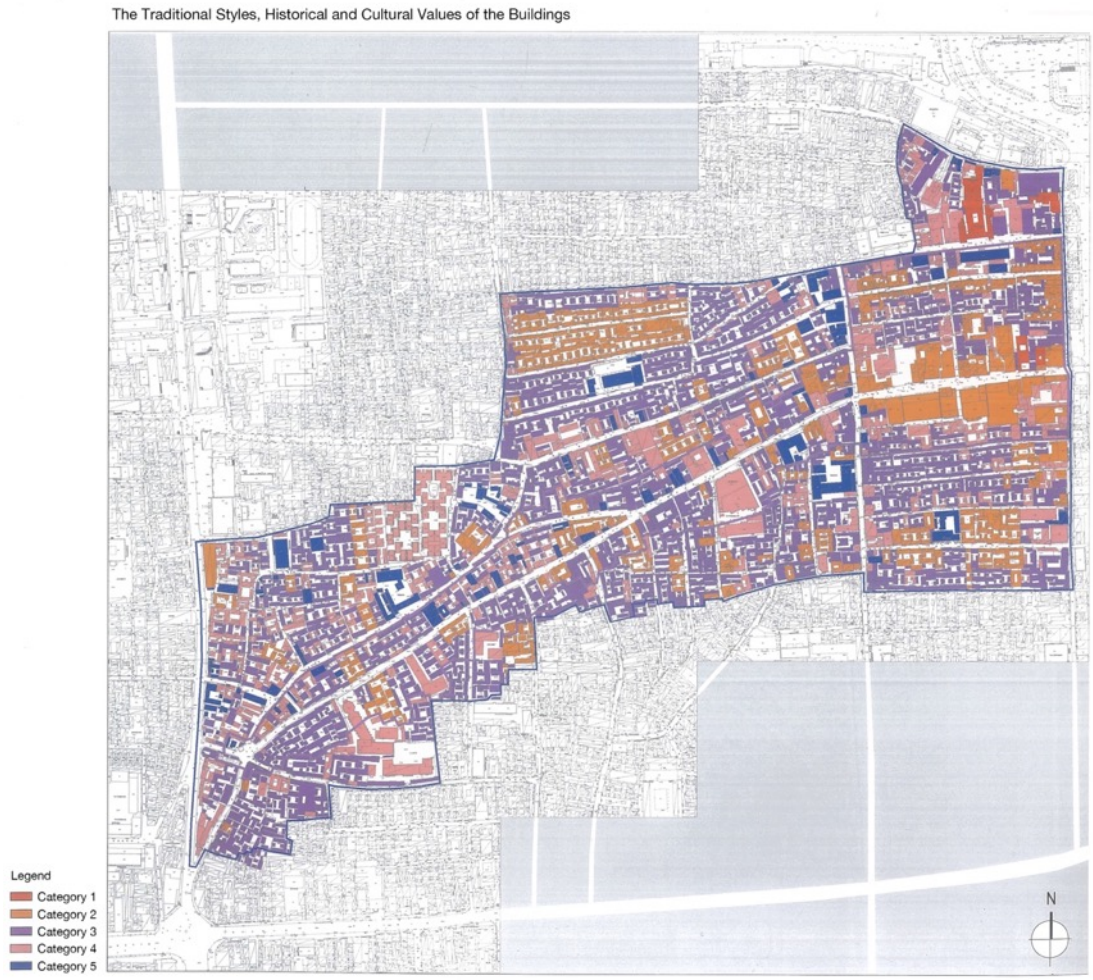


Plate 5 Conservation Planning of Twenty-Five Historic Areas in Beijing Old City (Dashilar Area)

(b) The traditional styles, historical and cultural values of the buildings, by Beijing Municipal City Planning Commission and Beijing Institute of Civil Engineering and Architecture, *Conservation Planning of Twenty-Five Historic Areas in Beijing Old City* (Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe, 2002), 292. Category 1 consists of "state, municipal, and district-level sites protected for their cultural value;" Category 2 consists of "traditional buildings and recent/modern buildings with definite historical and cultural value;" Category 3 consists of "ordinary traditional buildings that are fairly compatible with the traditional style;" Category 4 consists of "modern buildings that are fairly compatible with the traditional style;" Category 5 consists of "buildings that are not compatible with the traditional style."

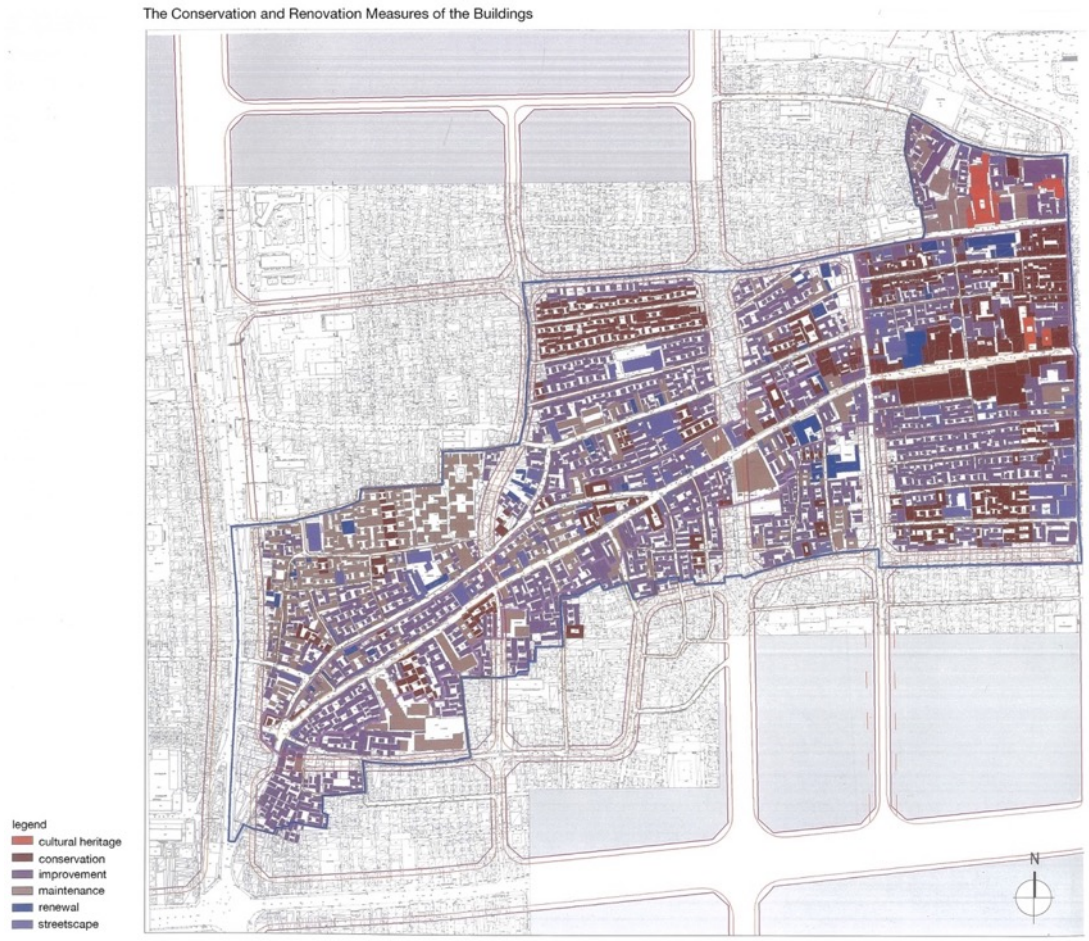


Plate 5 Conservation Planning of Twenty-Five Historic Areas in Beijing Old City (Dashilar Area)

(c) The conservation and renovation measures of the buildings, by Beijing Municipal City Planning Commission and Beijing Institute of Civil Engineering and Architecture, *Conservation Planning of Twenty-Five Historic Areas in Beijing Old City* (Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe, 2002), 298. There are six categories of conservation and renovation measures: cultural heritage, conservation, improvement, maintenance, renewal, and streetscape.

Plate 6 Dashilar, the Forbidden City, and Contemporary Beijing

Adapted from Google Earth, accessed October 23, 2019.

Plate 7 Historical buildings in Dashilar

(a) Wang Shiren 王世仁, ed., *Zengding xuannan hongxue tuzhi* 增订宣南鸿雪图志 (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2015), vol. 1, 362. In this map, 368 historical buildings in Dashilar are marked out. This document has listed the mundane buildings of historical and cultural values but does not attempt to comprehend the organising features of these many historical buildings within the area.

前门西河沿街
1 前门西站
2 盐业银行
3 交通银行
4 前门菜市场
5 大宛会馆
6 渭南会馆
7 金城银行
南城办事处
8 万寿关帝庙
9 正阳旅馆
10 关帝庙
（祖旗杆庙）
11 萧山会馆
12 莆仙会馆
13 中原证券交易所
14 正乙祠
15 袁盛戎故居
16 万善寺
17 三元庵
三富胡同
18 白衣庵
珠宝市街
19 谦祥益门市部
（益和祥）
20 钱市
廊房头条
21 谦祥益
22 三阳金店
23 华北照相馆
24 劝业场
25 首善第一楼
26 天宝金店
27 内联升
28 文盛斋绸灯铺
29 吴彩霞湘绣庄
30 撷英番菜馆
大棚栏街
31 祥义号
32 田记饽饽铺
（聚庆斋）
33 瑞蚨祥
34 二妙堂咖啡馆
35 庆乐戏院
36 马聚源帽店
37 临汾会馆
38 厚德福饭庄
39 裕丰烟铺
40 老九霞鞋店
41 瑞蚨祥西鸿记
42 广德楼戏院
43 吴德泰茶庄
44 天葩斋鼻烟铺
45 三庆戏院
46 张一元茶庄
47 同仁堂药店
48 保太和药店
49 大观楼电影院
门框胡同
50 同乐园戏院
粮食店街
51 六必居酱园
52 中和戏院
53 火德真君庙
54 北京客栈
王皮胡同
55 仙城会馆
施家胡同
56 河北省银行
57 华威银行
58 殖边银行
59 同元祥银号
60 裕兴中银号
61 福生银号
62 启明银号
63 三聚源银号
64 余大亨银号
65 宝丰银号
66 北京旅店
67 广德会馆
68 三义客店
69 青阳会馆
70 泉通银行
71 义生银号
72 广瑞银号
73 集成银号
74 谦生银号
云居胡同
75 云居寺
湿井胡同
76 真武庙
甘井胡同
77 赣宁会馆
78 鞋鞋业公会
车辇胡同
79 观音庵
珠市口西大街
80 天寿堂饭庄
81 中国饭店
82 奉天会馆
83 开明戏院
84 北京商会
85 清华池浴池
86 津南试馆
87 路安会馆
88 九江会馆
89 赣宁会馆
90【清】都察院
中城副指挥衙门
91 赣宁会馆
92 仁钱会馆
93 第九阅报处
94 古佛堂
95 华北戏院
96 湖州会馆
97 盂县会馆
98 南皮会馆
99 盐山会馆
100 大和恒粮店
101 第一舞台
102 德化会馆
103 当业公会
104 乐平会馆
105 绿雨楼
（李光地故居）
106 平定会馆
107 万善给孤寺
108 惠中饭店
109 泸州会馆
110 德寿堂药店
111 小小汽车行
112 越中先贤祠
113 阅微草堂（岳钟琪、纪昀、徐乾学故居）
114 宜昌会馆
115 三原会馆
116 天仙庵
117 西庆仁堂药店
118 蕉岭会馆
119 虎坊桥小学
120 洛中会馆
121 曲沃会馆
122 杭州会馆
123 襄陵南馆
124 翼城会馆
125 白衣庵
126 富连成社
煤市街
127 泰丰楼饭庄
128 致美斋饭庄
129 朱敏故居
130 致美楼饭庄
131 赣州会馆
132 漳州会馆
133 同聚馆
（馅饼周）
134 丰泽园饭庄
培英胡同
135 王瑞卿故居
136 马神庙
培智胡同
137 整容行业公会
138 米面业公会
小椿树胡同
139 漳浦会馆
元兴夹道
140 元兴堂饭庄
棕树斜街
141 新建会馆
142 汾阳会馆
143 一品香浴池
144 玉极庵
棕树头条
145 关帝祠
大力胡同
146 同福居饭庄
147 新中国电影院
148 恩元居饭庄
149 鄞县会馆
大棚栏西街
150 承庆堂饭庄
151 亨得利钟表店
152 惠丰堂饭庄
153 青云阁
154 先施公司
155 连升店
156 一品斋鞋店
157 梓华理发店
158 观音寺
青风夹道
159 火神庙
西杨芳胡同
160 清风庵
161 高安会馆
石头胡同
162 大北照相馆
163 莲花庵
164 龙岩会馆
165 延寿庵
166 严陵会馆
167 天仙宫
168 准提庵
169 盂县会馆
170 望江会馆
铁树斜街
171 肇庆会馆
172 肇庆会馆
173 三元客店
174 两益轩饭庄
175 同和轩饭庄
176 同益轩饭庄
177 饭庄业公会
178 润身女浴所
179 功德林素菜馆
180 留香大饭店
181 华昌制版局
182 梅兰芳祖居
183 远东饭店
184 且园
185 襄陵会馆
186 延定会馆
陕西巷
187 怡香院
（寒金花茶室）
188 四川会馆
189 云吉班
（小凤仙茶室）
万福巷
190 万佛寺
大外廊营胡同
191 谭鑫培故居
192 琼州会馆
193 潮州会馆
194 镇平会馆
195 严州会馆
百顺胡同
196 警觉寺
197 蒋花馆
（苏家大院）
西壁营胡同
198 西白衣庵
韩家胡同
199 广东会馆（芥子园、李渔故居）
200 韩莫（慕庐）
故居
201 荷管故居
202 上虞会馆
五道街
203 五道庙
204 土地庙
205 襄陵会馆
206 三原会馆
青竹巷
207 真武庙
拈头巷
208 拈头庵
樱桃胡同
209 刻字业公会
（皈子庙）
樱桃斜街
210 贵州会馆
211 文庭藩书局
212 贵州会馆
213 群强报社
214 梨园公会
215 泾阳会馆
216 广福居
（穆家寨）饭铺
217 民信通讯社
大安澜营胡同
218 北平白话报社
小安澜营胡同
219 五圣庵
小安澜营头条
220 火神庙
小安澜营三条
221 文光寺
臧家桥胡同
222 渭南会馆
汐土园夹道
223 富平东馆
小汐土园胡同
224 五行长春会馆
225 书业文昌会馆
226 昆山会馆
琉璃厂东街
227 观音阁
228 火神庙
229 戴月轩湖笔店
230 翠文阁印章店
231 仁威观
232 信远斋食品店
西太平巷
233 王士禛故居
厂甸
234 电话总局
235 吕祖祠
236 海王村公园
237 李内贞墓
姚江胡同
238 姚江会馆
东北园胡同
239 关帝庙
杨梅竹斜街
240 梁诗正故居
241 东升平浴池
242 青云阁
243 酉西会馆
244 和合会馆
245 马元龙药铺
246 世界市局
247 开明书局
248 民社（书局）
249 大东书局
250 新华书局
251 广益书局
取灯胡同
252 同兴堂饭庄
253 娘娘庙
北火扇胡同
254 协资庙
杨威胡同
255 清真礼拜寺
茶儿胡同
256 鄱阳会馆
257 鹫峰寺
258 经济出版社
259 杨小楼故居
耀武胡同
260 惠安会馆
三井胡同
261 大宏庙
262 福峰寺
弓字胡同
263 太岁庙
排子胡同
264 龙王庙
265 凤阳会馆
266 江夏会馆
267 地藏庵
大耳胡同
268 婺源会馆
269 石关帝庙
270 培幼小学
延寿街
271 延寿寺
272 云闻会馆
273 潮州会馆
274 平乐九邑会馆
275 吴县会馆
276 长吴元会馆
277 王致和腐乳店
余家胡同
278 浙江学会
279 襄陵北馆
280 上虞会馆
增补项目
281 福峰寺
282 婺源会馆
283 龙岩会馆
284 真武庙
285 私立群化中学
286 私立中国通背拳术专门研究所
287 宣兴会馆
288 三元庵
289 京津印书局
290 龙王庙
291 胰子坊
292 织业工厂
293 国民公报社
294 岑毓英故居
295 京报馆
296 戏剧周报社
297 广益印书局
298 全浙会馆
299 奉新北馆
300 商业日报社
301 南昌县馆
302 荣昌厚银号
303 七圣阁
304 盂小冬故居
305 福源粮店
306 火神庙
307 马正良琴铺
308 张謇故居
309 元隆军装厂
310 炉行
311 同和轩饭庄
312 屈臣氏药房
313 庆和园戏院
314 师范大学附中
315 师范大学附小
316【清】琉璃厂
317 观音阁
318 当涂会馆
319 怀宁会馆
320【清】四译馆
321 每日新闻社
322 益世报馆
323【清】京师工巡捐局
324 新北京报社
325 五圣庵
326 华新印书局
327 仁钱会馆
328 三圣庙
329 泉鄂会馆
330 玉皇庙
331 五圣庙
332 火神庙
333 华昌制版厂
334 泾阳会馆
335 朱敏故居
336 三合木厂
337 淞江会馆
338 余三胜故居
339 大陆造胰厂
340 清议报社
341 天仙庵
342 新闻日报社
343 万成米庄
344 三义永戏衣铺
345 白衣庵
346 五泰成铁工厂
347 宜兴会馆
348 义发祥毛厂
349 长春科班
350 杨月楼故居
351 诚庆社科班
（俞振庭故居）
352 陈德霖故居
353 陈长庚故居
354 观音庵
355 小土地庙
356 发记米庄
357 关帝祠
358 土地庙
359 福兴铁工厂
360 乐平会所
361 会稽山会馆
362 华国印书局
363 三和铁工厂
364 顺和铁工厂
365 清泉庵
366 泉鄂会馆
367 南京试馆
368 吉安会馆

Plate 7 Historical buildings in Dashilar

(b) Wang Shiren 王世仁, ed., *Zengding xuannan hongxue tuzhi* 增订宣南鸿雪图志 (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2015), vol. 1, 363. A list of the 368 historical buildings in Dashilar.

Plate 8 “Courtyard” as the unit – the regulatory plan innovation for east Dashilar (2004)

Tang Yan, 唐燕, “*Lishi wenhua jiequ de kongzhixing xiangxi guihua bianzhi fangfa tansuo – yi Beijing Dashilar Meishi jie yidong diqu weili*” 历史文化街区的控制性详细规划编制方法探索——以北京大栅栏煤市街以东地区为例 [Exploring the Methods of Regulatory Planning for Historical and Cultural Neighbourhood – A Case Study on the Area East of Meishi Street in Dashilar, Beijing], in *2009 Zhongguo chengshi guihua nianhui lunwenji* 2009 中国城市规划年会论文集 [Proceedings of Annual National Planning Conference] (2009), Fig. 4.

(a)

(b)

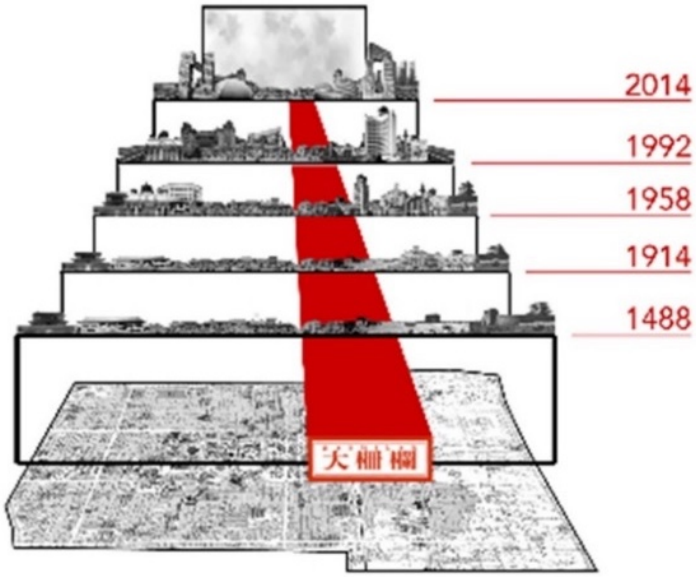
(c)

(d)

(e)

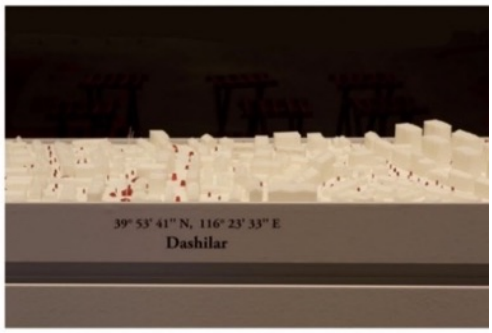
Plate 9 The newly renovated Qianmen Avenue and the partitions along the Meishi Street

(a) Qianmen Avenue, photograph by the author, February 2, 2008. (b)–(e) Partitions along the Meishi Street, photographs by Ou Ning, 2007, accessed July 23, 2015, www.alternativearchive.com/ouning.

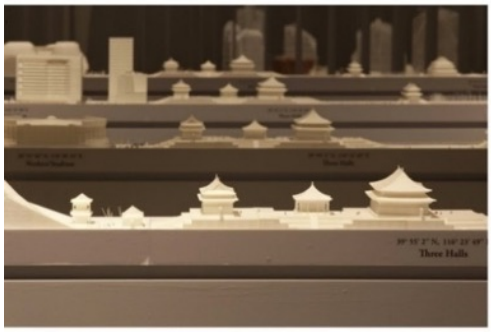


(a)

(b)



(c)



(d)

(e)

Plate 10 Across City Sections

DONTSTOP architettura, in “Across Chinese Cities – Beijing,” curated by Michele Brunello (DONTSTOP architettura) and Beatrice Leanza (Beijing Design Week), June 2014. (a) Conceptual diagram, accessed July 28, 2015, http://baoatelier.com/venice-architecture-biennale-2014/; (b)–(d) photographs by Spartaco Paris, published June 11, 2014, https://www.domusweb.it/it/architettura/2014/06/11/across_the_chinese_cities.html.

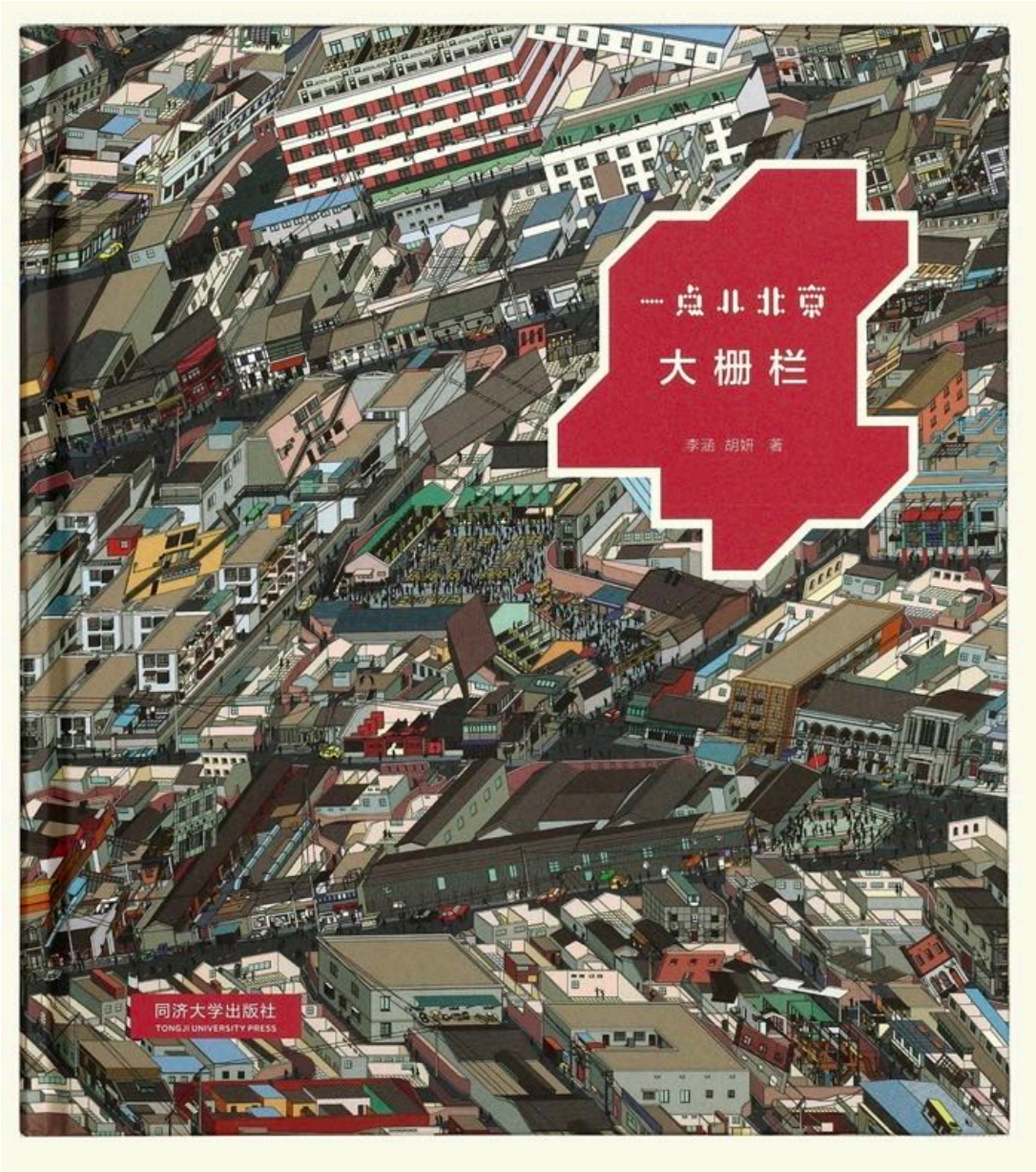


Plate 11 Li Han 李涵 and Hu Yan 胡妍, *Yidianer Beijing: Dashilar* 一点儿北京：大栅栏 Shanghai: Tongji University Press, 2015.

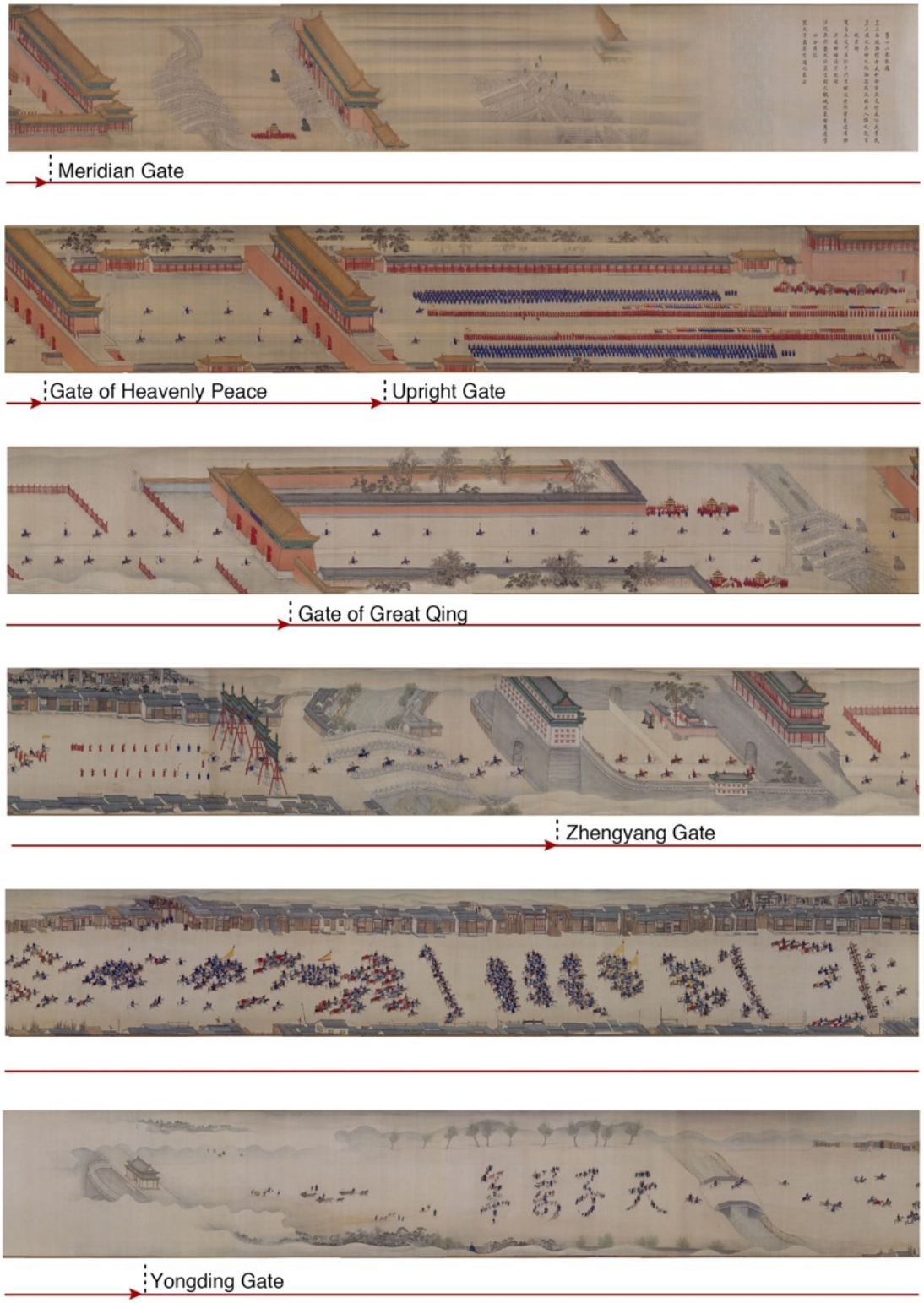


Plate 12 The twelfth scroll of The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour 康熙南巡图

(a) The scroll. Courtesy of The Palace Museum (Beijing), photograph by Feng Hui 冯辉.

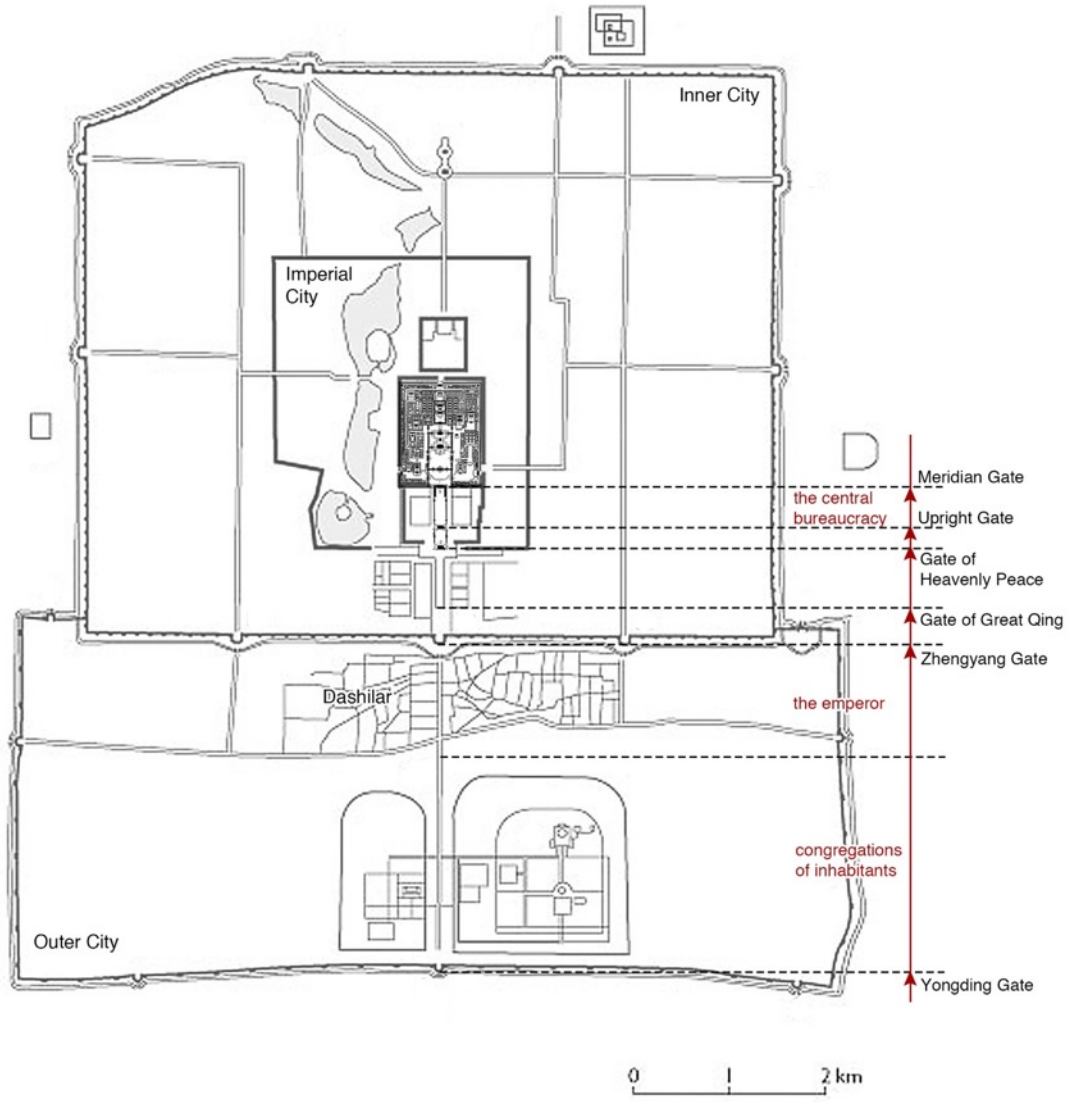


Plate 12 The twelfth scroll of *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour* 康熙南巡图

(b) Spatial sequence.

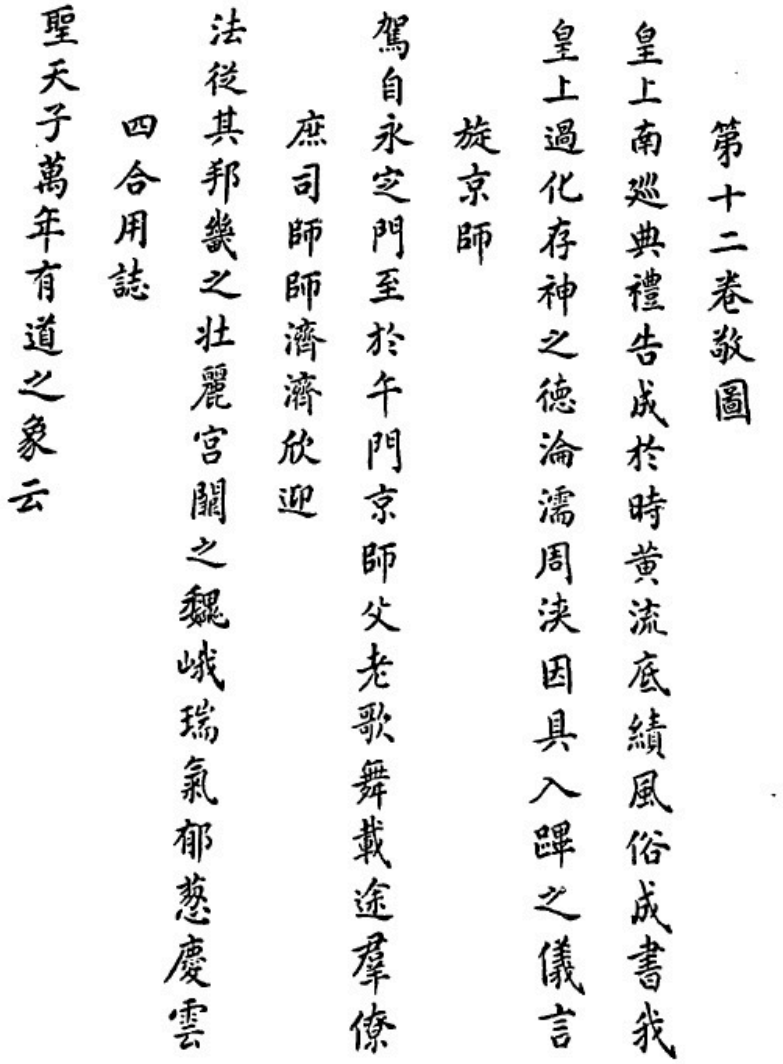

第十二卷敬圖
皇上南巡典禮告成於時黃流底績風俗成書我
皇上過化存神之德淪濡周浹因具入覲之儀言
旋京師
駕自永定門至於午門京師父老歌舞載途羣僚
庶司師師濟濟欣迎
法從其邦畿之壯麗宮闕之巍峨瑞氣郁葱慶雲
四合用誌
聖天子萬年有道之象云

Plate 13 The prefatory text of the twelfth scroll of *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour* 康熙南巡图

The preface presents a brief summary of Kangxi's accomplishments while on tour: "The twelfth scroll respectfully depicts his majesty's completion of the Southern Tour formalities. By this time he had completed a rough draft of the Yellow River drainage system, recorded local customs, and with his transforming virtue imbued everyone with a sense of gratitude. Because all was ready for the final ceremonies of his return trip he headed back to the capital. As the emperor and his retinue traveled from the Yongding Gate to the Meridian Gate the inhabitants of the capital, old and young alike, filled the road, singing and dancing, while the numerous officials and multitude of officers all were arrayed to welcome the emperor. Auspicious vapors and clouds of good fortune emanated forth in all directions from the imposing realm of the imperial city with its majestic halls and gates. And so we have recorded an image conveying our wish for his majesty's long life." Maxwell K. Hearn, "The Kangxi Southern Inspection Tour: A Narrative Program by Wang Hui" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1990), 166, 297.

Plate 14 A representation of Dashilar found in Scroll Twelve, *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour* 康熙南巡图 (a) The Jewellery Market Street. Courtesy of The Palace Museum (Beijing), photograph by Hu Chui 胡锤.

Plate 14 A representation of Dashilar found in Scroll Twelve, *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour* 康熙南巡图
(b) The inhabitants who have started to assert their rights to the avenue after the passage of the emperor. Courtesy of The Palace Museum (Beijing), photograph by Hu Chui 胡锤.

Plate 14 A representation of Dashilar found in Scroll Twelve, *The Kangxi Emperor's Southern Inspection Tour* 康熙南巡图
(c) The congregations of inhabitants near the Temple of Heaven along the Central Axis. Courtesy of The Palace Museum (Beijing), photograph by Hu Chui 胡锤.

Section Two

The Ontologies of the Teacup

Plate 15 *Pincha tu* 品茶图 [Drinking Tea], Ming Dynasty (1368–1644)

In Qiu Jiping 裘纪平, *Zhongguo Chahua* 中国茶画 [Chinese Painting on Tea] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2014), 129. In the Ming dynasty, tea became a ubiquitous symbol for the scholar-gentry class to communicate their values and philosophies of life. In this painting, the white paint makes the teacups a prominent element of such *gathering* of three literati in a poetic landscape, implying a shared ideal embodied in the specific materiality of these teacups as white porcelain.

Plate 16 Tea as a ubiquitous symbol in Qing Beijing

(a) Private teacups, by Leng Mei 冷枚 and Song Junye 宋骏业, in Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 et al., eds, *Wanshou shengdian chuji* 万寿盛典初集 [Grand Ceremony Celebrating the Emperor's Birthday, Premier Compilation] (1717), vol. 42, 9a; (b) Private teacups in *Wanshou shengdian chuji*, vol. 41, 48b; (c) Private teacups in Janggiya Agui 章佳·阿桂 et al., *Baxun wanshou shengdian* 八旬万寿盛典 [Grand Ceremony Celebrating the Emperor's Eightieth Birthday] (1792), vol. 78, 17b; (d) Private teacups in *Baxun wanshou shengdian*, vol. 78, 48b; (e) Teahouse in *Wanshou shengdian chuji*, vol. 41, 58b; (f) Teahouse in *Baxun wanshou shengdian*, vol. 78, 14b.

Plate 16 Tea as a ubiquitous symbol in Qing Beijing

(g) Tea peddler in *Wanshou shengdian chuji*, vol. 41, 14b; (h) Tea peddler in *Wanshou shengdian chuji*, vol. 42, 38b; (i) Tea peddler in *Baxun wanshou shengdian*, vol. 77, 32a; (j) Tea peddler in *Baxun wanshou shengdian*, vol. 78, 35a; (k) Tea stall in *Baxun wanshou shengdian*, vol. 78, 48a; (l) Tea stall in *Wanshou shengdian chuji*, vol. 42, 12a.

Plate 17 Jia Quan 贾全 et al., *Tingtang yingxi tu tongjing hua* 厅堂嬰戏图通景画 [Panoramic Painting of Toddlers Playing in an Interior Scene] (part), Qianlong Period (1736–1795)

In Qiu Jiping 裘纪平, *Zhongguo Chahua* 中国茶画 [Chinese Painting on Tea] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2014), 157. In this everyday scene, two blue-and-white cups for tea drinking are portrayed in detail.

Plate 18 Water House by Leng Mei 冷枚 and Song Junye 宋骏业

In Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 et al., ed, *Wanshou shengdian chuji* 万寿盛典初集 [Grand Ceremony Celebrating the Emperor's Birthday, Premier Compilation] (1717), vol. 41, 10a. In *Wanshou shengdian chuji*, Water Houses are meticulously portrayed in the intervals between the semi-enclosed ceremonial spaces. Among all the 142 pages (71 pages per volume), Water Houses appear in twelve places – six in the Inner City (vol. 41, 10a, 31b, 35b, 48a, 70b, 72a) and six in the West Outskirt of Beijing (vol. 42, 7b, 27a, 34a, 59b, 62b, 70a).

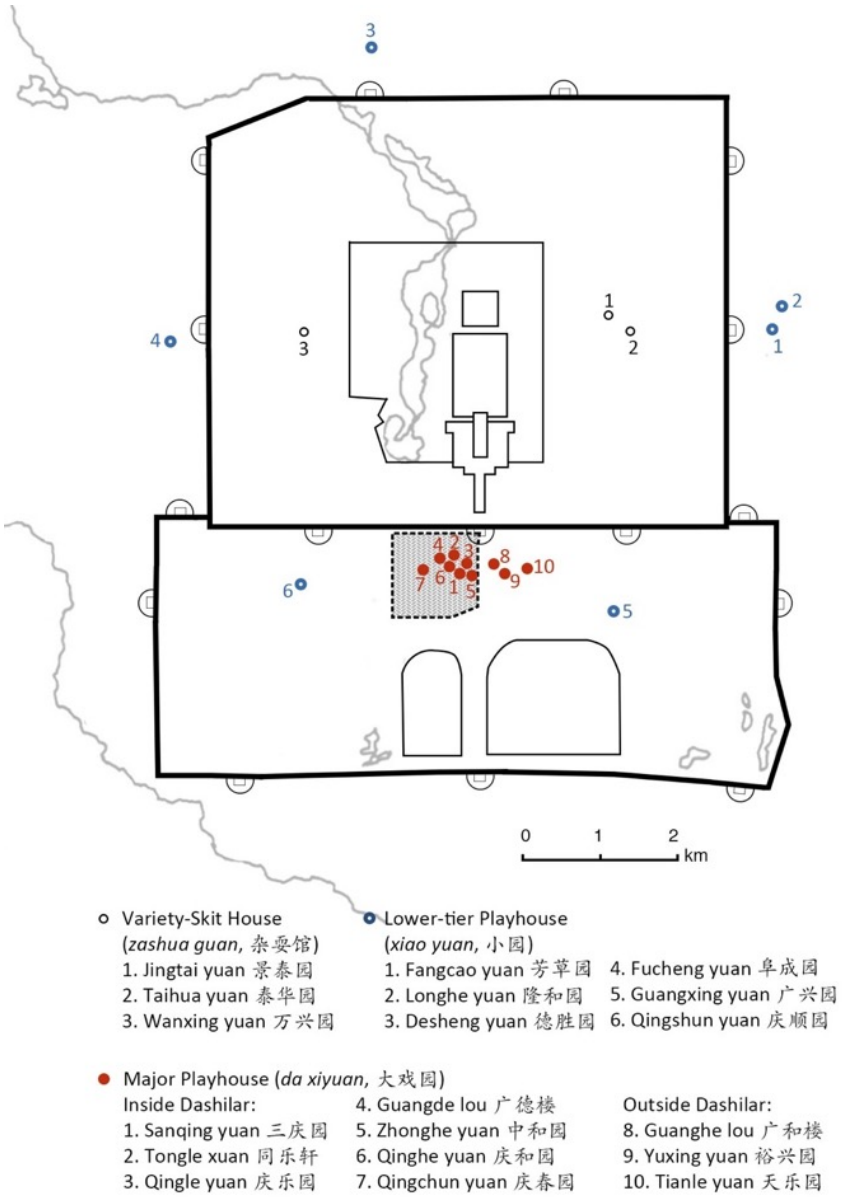


Plate 19 The Variety-Skit Houses, Lower-tier and Major Playhouses in Beijing

This mapping is based on Zhou Mingtai's analysis of *Dumen jilue* 都门纪略 (A Short Account of the Capital, 1845). As in the Inner City it was forbidden to establish playhouses, there were only variety-skit houses, which featured various kinds of storytelling and performance rather than formal opera shows. While well-known troupes rotated only among the major playhouses every three or four days, small and lesser-known troupes could only perform in lower-tier playhouses. Zhou Mingtai 周明泰, *Dumen jilue zhong de xiqu shiliao* 《都门纪略》中的戏曲史料 [Historical Accounts About Opera in *Dumen jilue*] (Shanghai: Guangming yinshua ju, 1932), 141–171. Yao Shuyi 么书仪, Wan Qing xiqu de biange 晚清戏曲的变革 [Changes in Opera in the Late Qing] (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2018), 367–370. Xue Linping 薛林平, "Shilun Beijing Qingdai xiyuan jianzhu yu wenhua" 试论北京清代戏园建筑与文化 [Playhouse Architecture and Culture in Beijing, Qing Dynasty], *Huazhong jianzhu* 华中建筑 [Huazhong Architect] 27 (2009): 135–138.

Plate 20 *Guangxu Beijing chayuan yanxi tu* 光绪北京茶园演戏图 [An Interior Scene of the Playhouse in Beijing in the Guangxu era (1875–1908)] In Liao Ben 廖奔, *Zhongguo xiju tushi* 中国戏剧图史 [Illustrated History of Chinese Drama] (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2000), 482–483. A blue-and-white teacup appears in front of each seated audience member in the playhouse.

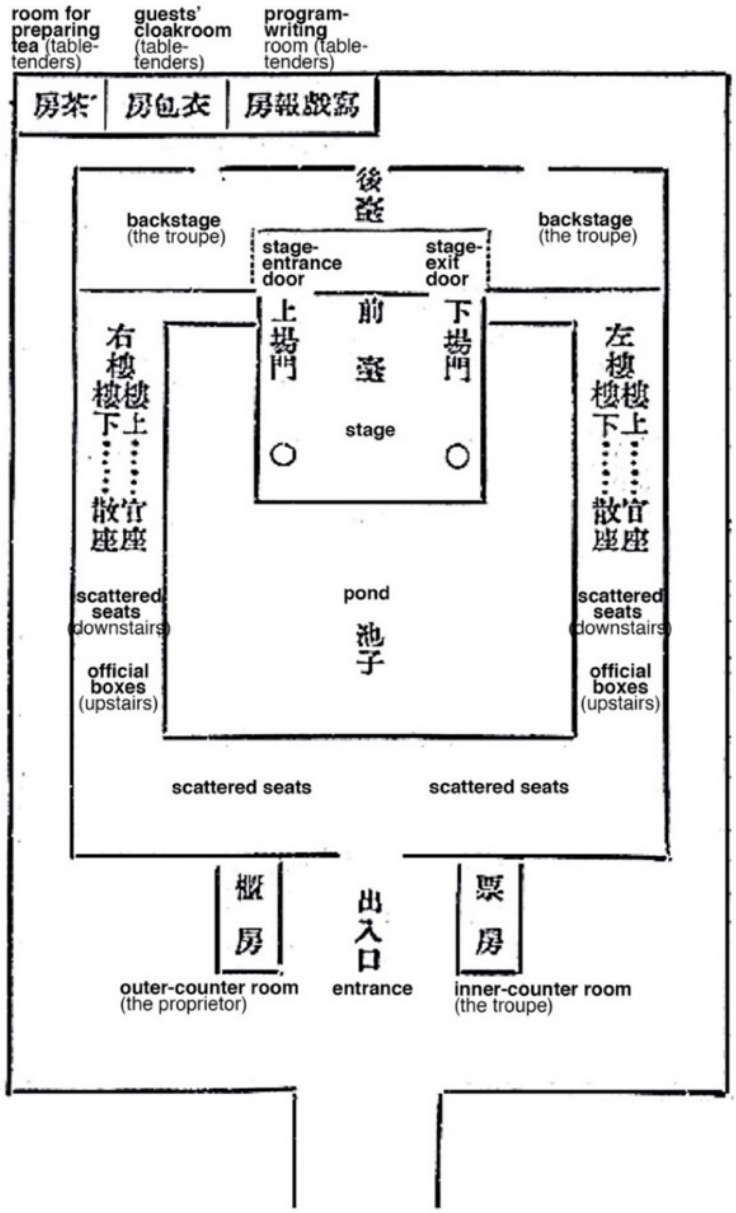


Plate 21 Schematic diagram of the floor plan of a typical playhouse in Dashilar
Adapted from Aoki Masaru 青木正儿, *Zhongguo jinshi xiqu shi* 中国近世戏曲史 [History of the Chinese Opera in the Recent Time], trans. Wang Gulu 王古鲁 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), 513. According to Qi Rushan's record, the backstage was where props and costumes were placed and where performers put on their make-up and waited before getting on the stage. Table-tenders would bring the patrons' coats to the *yibao fang* 衣包房 (guests' cloakroom) and would prepare tea for the patrons in the *cha fang* 茶房 (room for preparing tea). There were two counter-rooms (box offices), one for the proprietor who ran the playhouse and the other for the backstage (the troupe). Nonetheless, it is unknown if both counter-rooms were usually located at the entrance of a playhouse. Qi Rushan, "Yingye Xiguan jianzhu qingxing" 营业戏馆建筑情形 [The Architectural Arrangement of the Commercial Playhouses], in *Qi Rushan wenlun* 齐如山文论, 16–20.

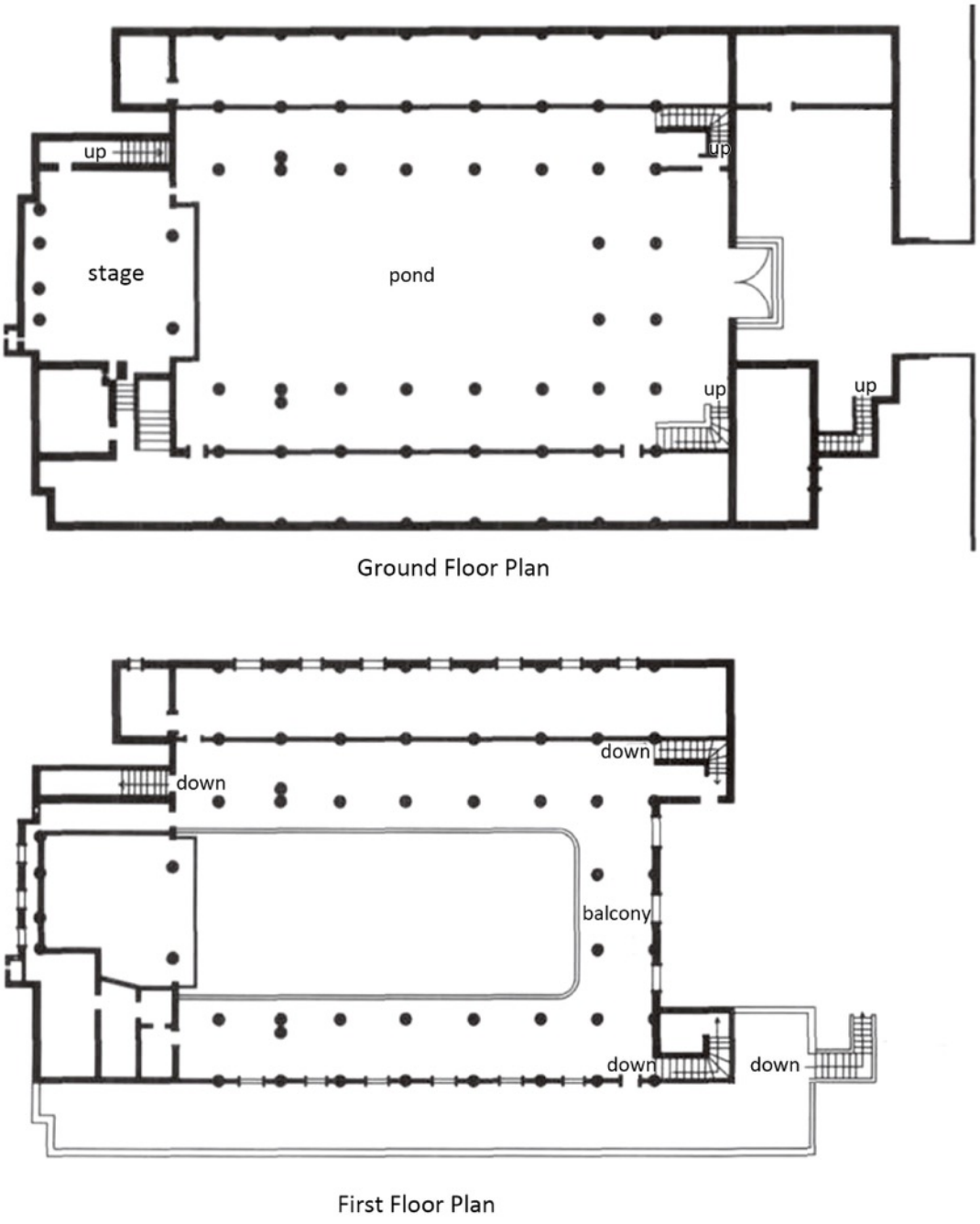


Plate 22 The floor plans of Sanqing yuan 三庆园 in Dashilar

Adapted from Xue Linping 薛林平, “Shilun Beijing Qingdai xiyuan jianzhu yu wenhua” 试论北京清代戏园建筑与文化 [Playhouse Architecture and Culture in Beijing, Qing Dynasty], *Huazhong jianzhu* 华中建筑 [Huazhong Architect] 27 (2009): 136, Fig. 6. These floor plans were drawn on the basis of a survey made by Tsinghua University in the 1950s. To show the Qing-era structure, the later-built box office has been removed from the ground floor plan.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

(g)

(h)

Plate 23 Images of the blue-and-white teacups and varied forms that developed at different times and appeared in the playhouses

(a) The blue-and-white teacups in the playhouses (part of Plate 20). (b) The details of the blue-and-white teacup commonly used during the Qing era (part of Plate 17).

Plate 23 Images of the blue-and-white teacups and varied forms that developed at different times and appeared in the playhouses

(c) Qian Huian 钱惠安, *Fang Hua Yan dushu tu* 仿华嵒读书图 [Pastiche of Hua Yan's Scroll on Reading], 1876, in Qiu Jiping 裘纪平, *Zhongguo Chahua* 中国茶画 [Chinese Painting on Tea] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2014), 261. The private teacup (white porcelain) and teapot (Yixing clay) of a Qing scholar.

Plate 23 Images of the blue-and-white teacups and varied forms that developed at different times and appeared in the playhouses

(d) *Pinming* 品茗 [Tasting Tea] (part), Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), in Qiu Jiping 裘纪平, *Zhongguo Chahua* 中国茶画 [Chinese Painting on Tea] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2014), 208. The private teacup (red-glazed white porcelain) of a Qing aristocrat. The background of this painting is the Old Summer Palace.

Plate 23 Images of the blue-and-white teacups and varied forms that developed at different times and appeared in the playhouses

(e) Leng Mei 冷枚, *Shangqiu tu* 赏秋图 [Tasting Tea], ca. 17–18th century, in Qiu Jiping 裘纪平, *Zhongguo Chahua* 中国茶画 [Chinese Painting on Tea] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2014), 205. The private teacup (white porcelain *gaiwan* 盖碗 [lidded teacup]) of a Qing aristocrat.

Plate 23 Images of the blue-and-white teacups and varied forms that developed at different times and appeared in the playhouses

(f) *Baqi zidi chabulishen* 八旗子弟茶不离身 [Princelings of Eight Banners Always Have Tea at Hand], Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), in Qiu Jiping 裘纪平, *Zhongguo Chahua* 中国茶画 [Chinese Painting on Tea] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2014), 244. The private teacup (blue-and-white *gaiwan* 盖碗 [lidded teacup]) and teapot (Yixing clay) of a Qing bannerman.

Plate 23 Images of the blue-and-white teacups and varied forms that developed at different times and appeared in the playhouses

(g) Zhang Kai 张恺, *Shengping yayue tu* 升平雅乐图 [Elegant Music by the Palace Opera Bureau], in Qiu Jiping 裘纪平, *Zhongguo Chahua* 中国茶画 [Chinese Painting on Tea] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2014), 245. The private teacups (painted white porcelain) of Qing-court musicians.

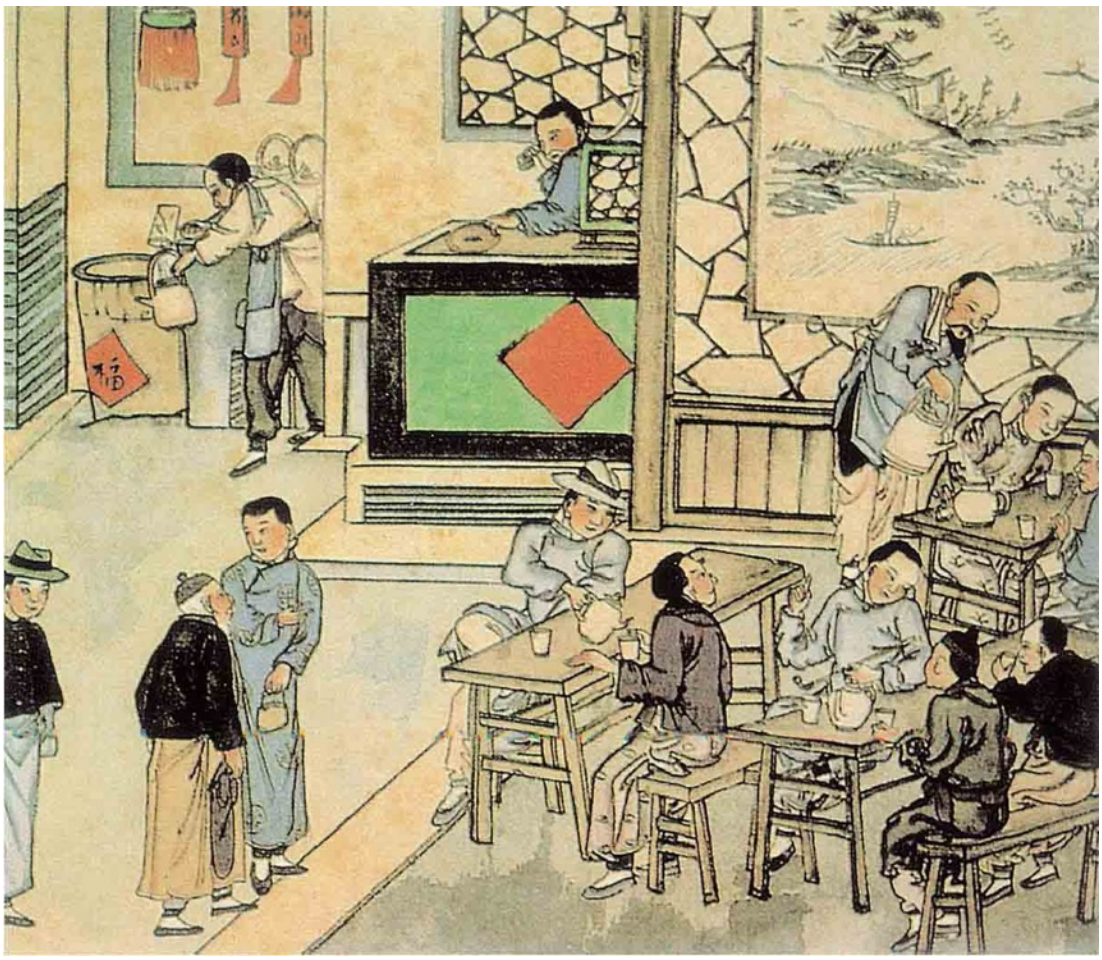
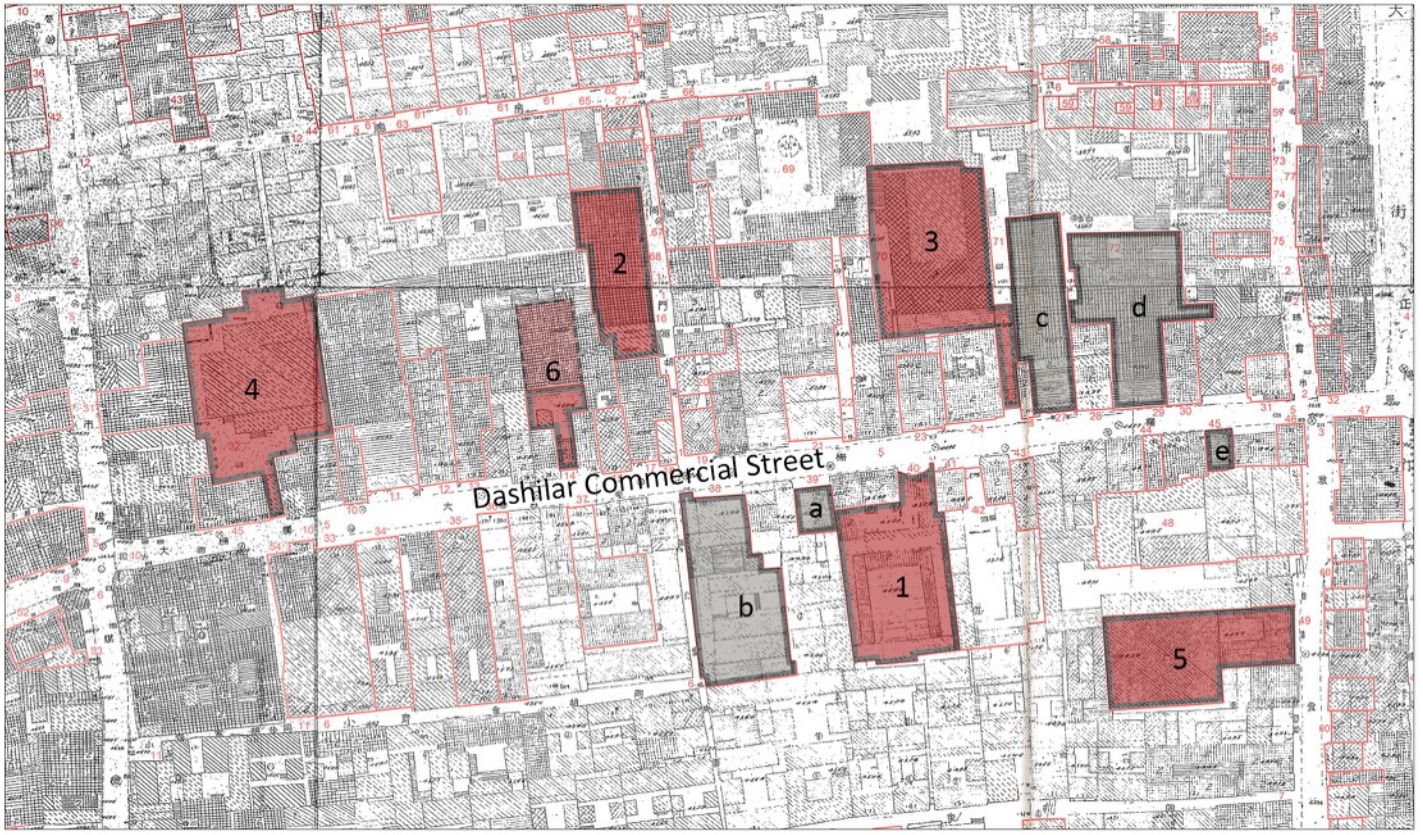


Plate 23 Images of the blue-and-white teacups and varied forms that developed at different times and appeared in the playhouses

(h) *Minguo chaguan tu* 民国茶馆图 [The Interior of a Republican Teahouse] (part), in Qiu Jiping 裘纪平, *Zhongguo Chahua* 中国茶画 [Chinese Painting on Tea] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang sheying chubanshe, 2014), 286. The teacups were commonly provided in the playhouses during the Republican era (1912–1949).



Playhouses:
1. Sanqing yuan 三庆园
2. Tongle xuan 同乐轩
3. Qingle yuan 庆乐园
4. Guangde lou 广德楼
5. Zhonghe yuan 中和园
6. Qinghe yuan 庆和园

Shops:
a. Zhangyiyuan Tea Shop
b. Tongren tang Drugstore
c. Ruifuxiang Silk Shop (Meng Jinhou)
d. Xiangyihao Silk Shop
e. Jingming Optical Shop (Wang Yongbin)

Plate 24 The Dashilar Commercial Street was densely populated by major playhouses and many shops

Developed upon a mapping of Dashilar in the 1950s, collected in Wang Shiren 王世仁, ed., *Zengding xuannan hongxue tuzhi* 增订宣南鸿雪图志 (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2015), vol. 1, 438–441, 454–457.

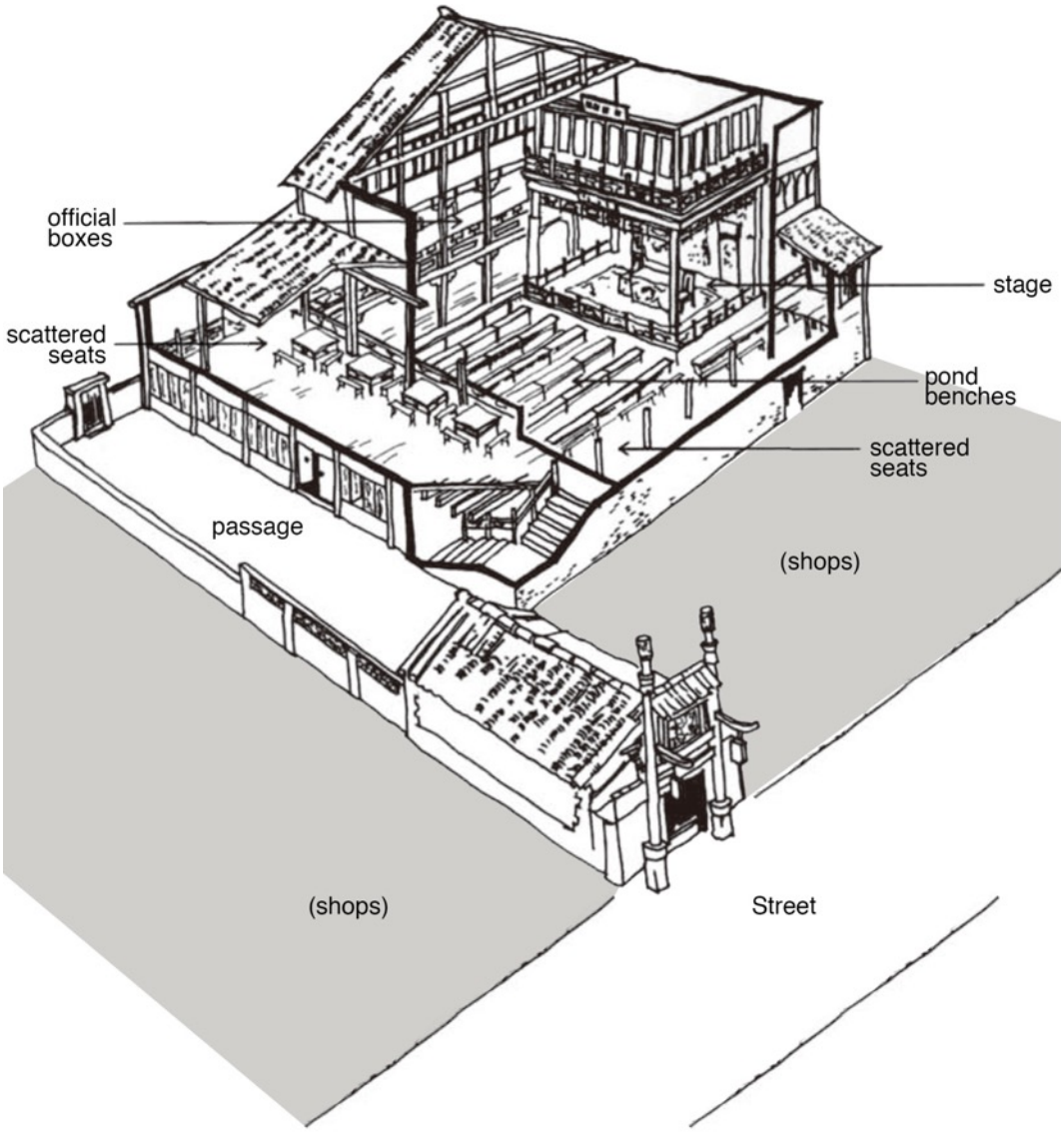


Plate 25 The spatial relation between a playhouse and shops at Dashilar

Adapted from Li Chang 李畅, *Qingdai yilai de Beijing juchang* 清代以来的北京剧场 (Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe, 1998), plate. The spatial relation of the playhouse and the street, as well as the shops, is added based on Qi Rushan's record. Qi Rushan 齐如山, "Yingye Xiguan jianzhu qingxing" 营业戏馆建筑情形 [The Architectural Arrangement of the Commercial Playhouses], in *Qi Rushan wenlun* 齐如山文论 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 2010), 19–20.

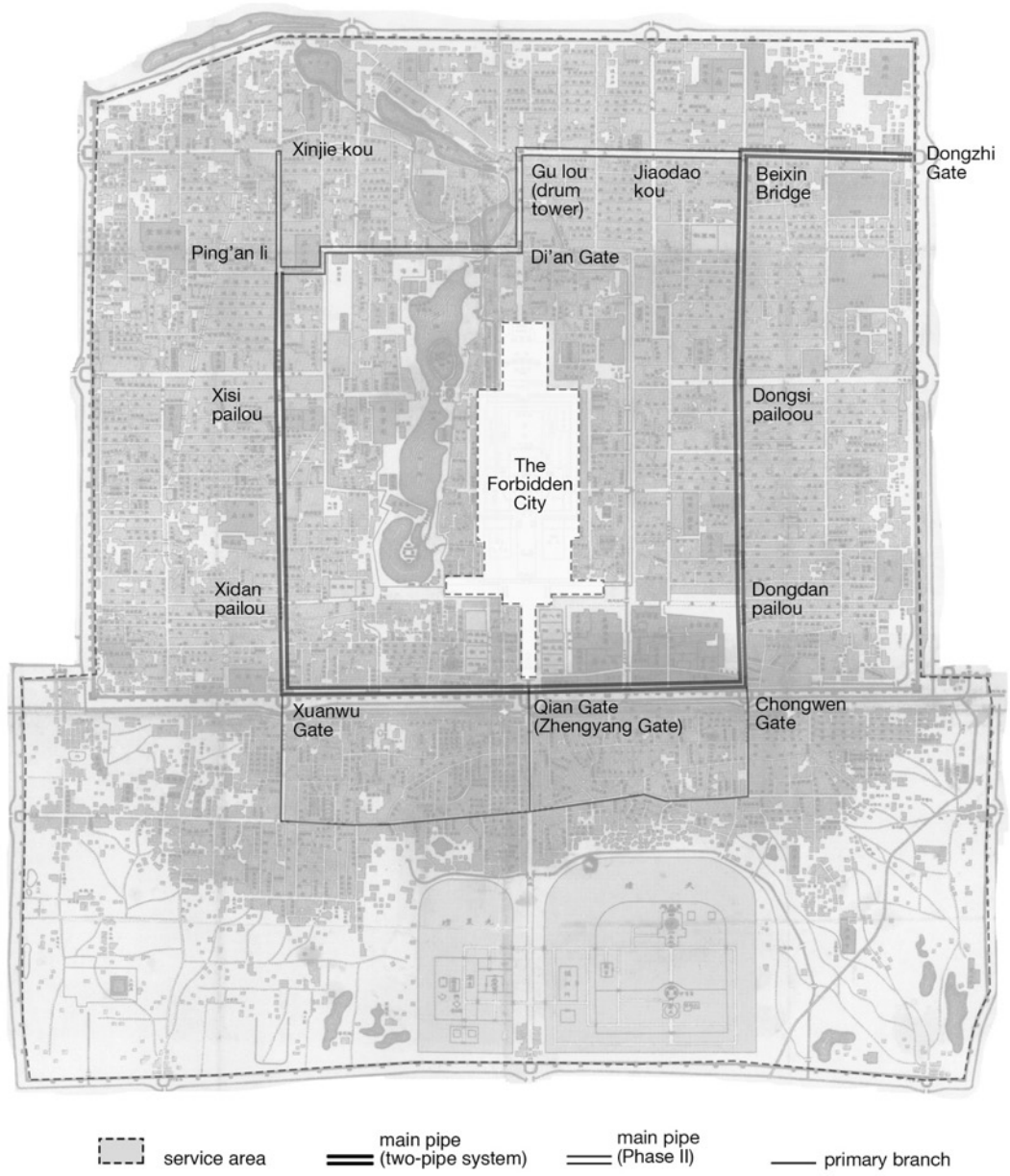


Plate 26 The ideologically formed piping system

This drawing is based on the textual description found in Beijing Water Company, Beijing Municipal Archives, and Literature Compilation Department of Renmin University of China, eds., *Beijing zilaishui gongsi dang'an shiliao (1908–1949)* 北京自来水公司档案史料 (1908–1949) [Historical Archives of Beijing Water Company (1908–1949)] (Beijing: Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 1986), 4–5, 72.

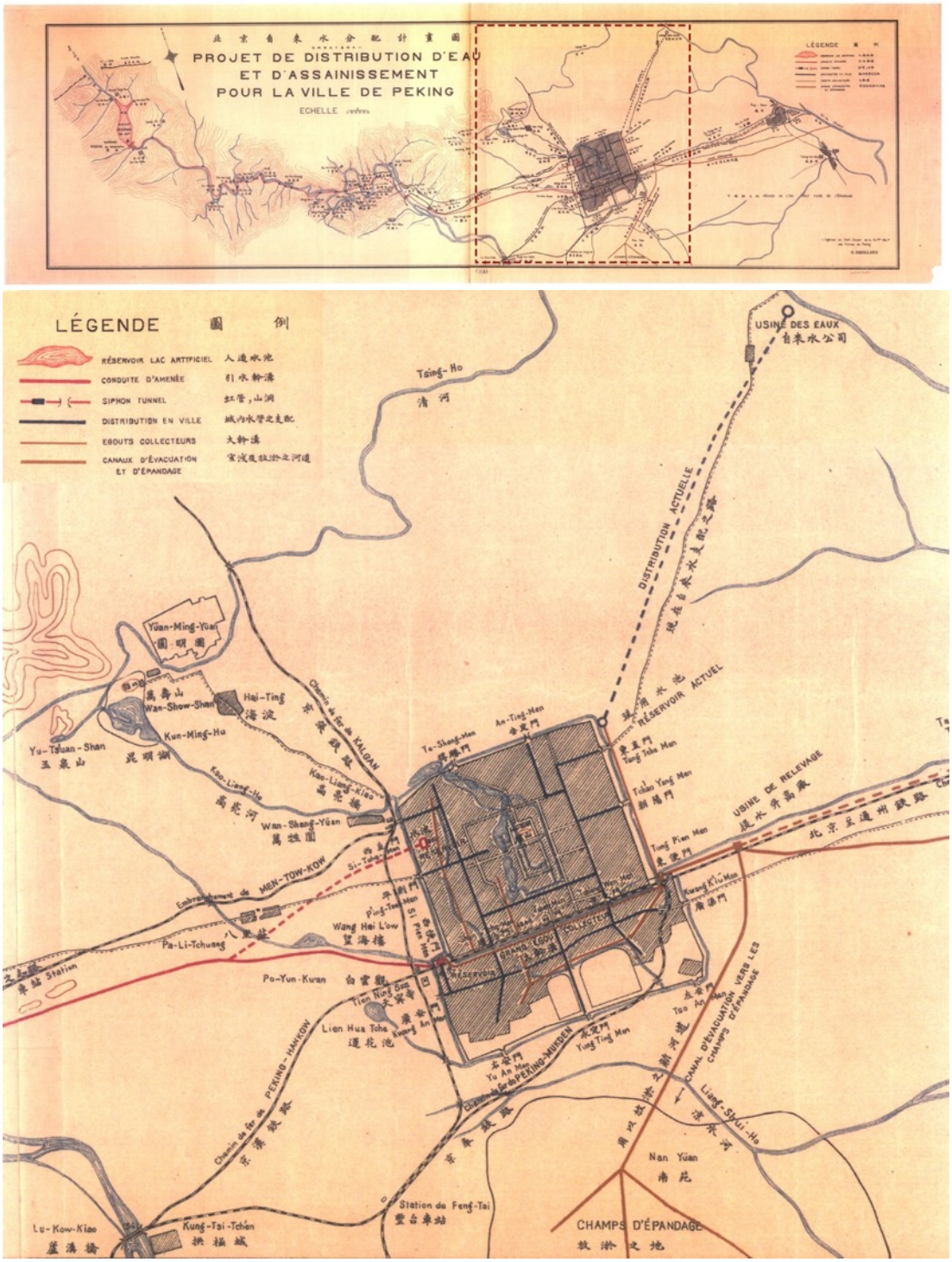


Plate 27 A mapping of the modern water supply system based on an observation on the actual application

Georges Bouillard, “Projet de distribution d’eau et d’assainissement pour la ville de Pékin,” in *Beijing gu ditu ji* 北京古地图集 [Beijing in Historical Maps], ed. National Library of China (Beijing: Cehui chubanshe, 2010), 243.

(a)

(b)

Plate 28 The juxtaposition of Water Houses and public taps
(a) Water House, by Sidney D. Gamble, ca. 1918–1919, Sidney D. Gamble Photographs Collection, accessed January 6, 2019, https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r3kd1r02n. (b) A public-tap keeper selling water to local residents in the American Board District, by Sidney D. Gamble, ca. 1918–1919, Sidney D. Gamble Photographs Collection, accessed January 6, 2019, https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r3p26qf4d.

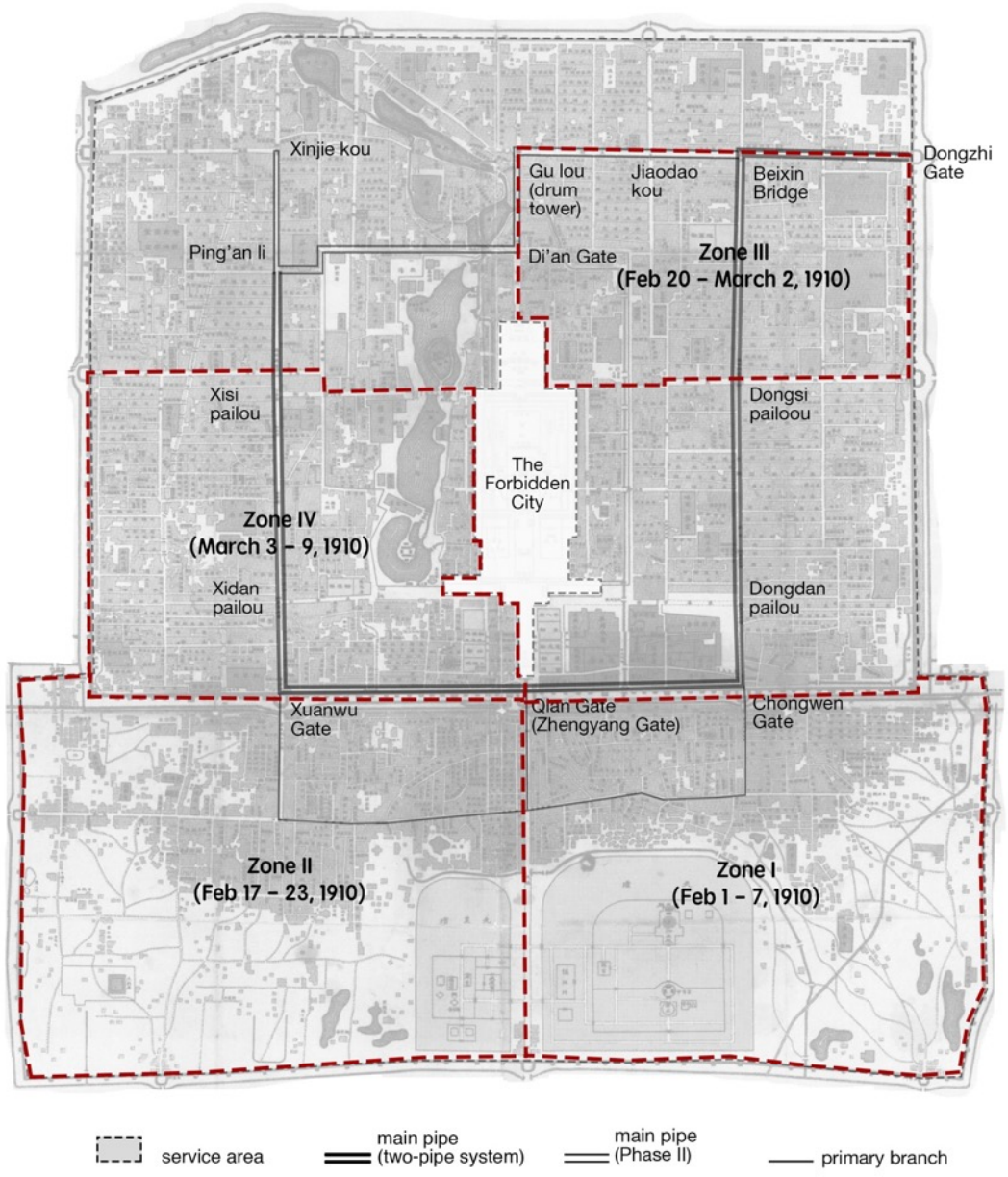


Plate 29 Four zones for a trial operation in 1910

This drawing is based on the textual description found in Beijing Water Company, Beijing Municipal Archives, and Literature Compilation Department of Renmin University of China, eds., *Beijing zilaishui gongsi dang'an shiliao (1908–1949)* 北京自来水公司档案史料 (1908–1949) [Historical Archives of Beijing Water Company (1908–1949)] (Beijing: Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 1986), 59–60.

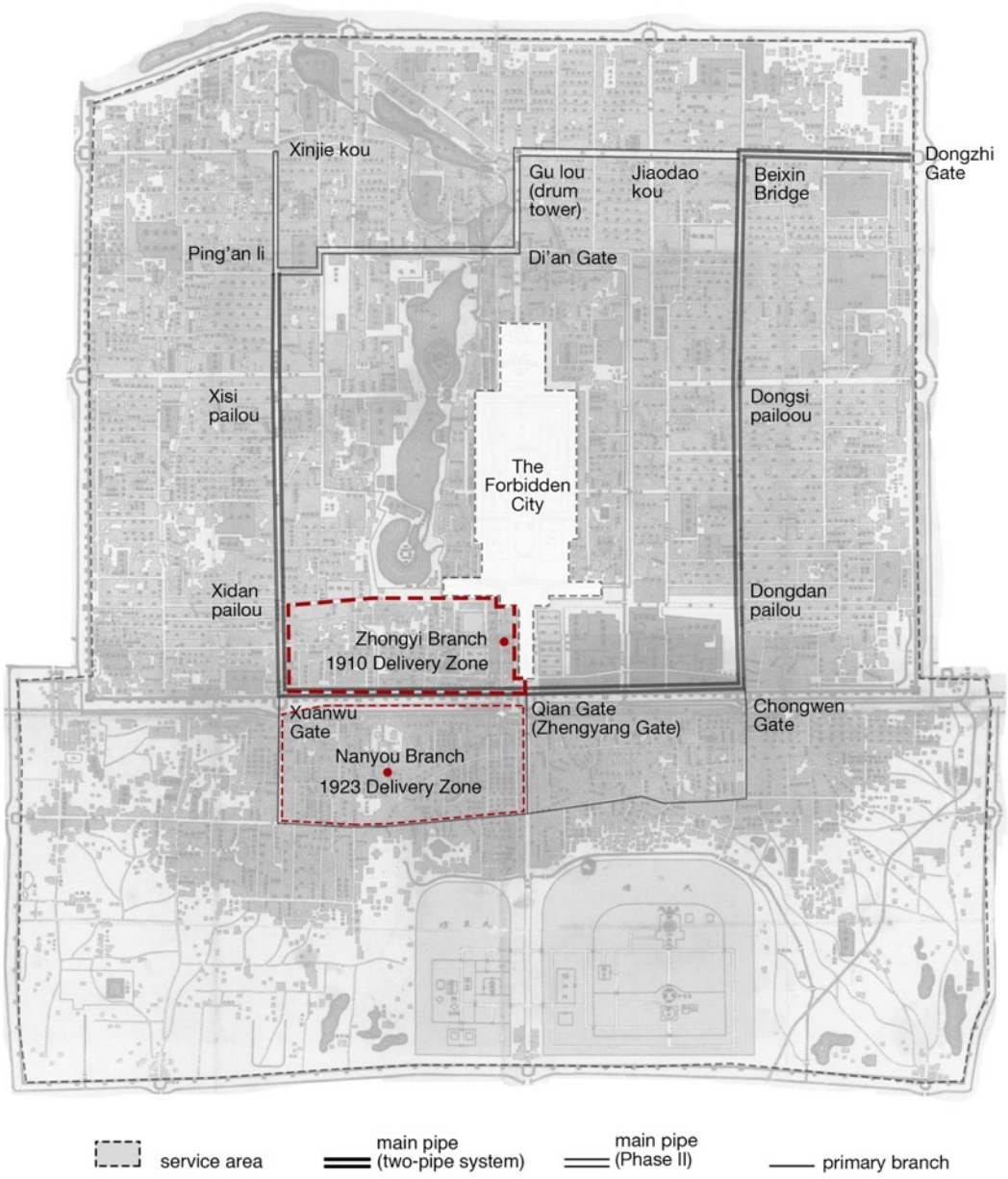


Plate 30 The water delivery zone in 1910 and 1923

This drawing is based on the textual description found in Beijing Water Company, Beijing Municipal Archives, and Literature Compilation Department of Renmin University of China, eds., *Beijing zilaishui gongsi dang'an shiliao (1908–1949)* 北京自来水公司档案史料 (1908–1949) [Historical Archives of Beijing Water Company (1908–1949)] (Beijing: Beijing yanshan chubanshe, 1986), 73, 127–128.

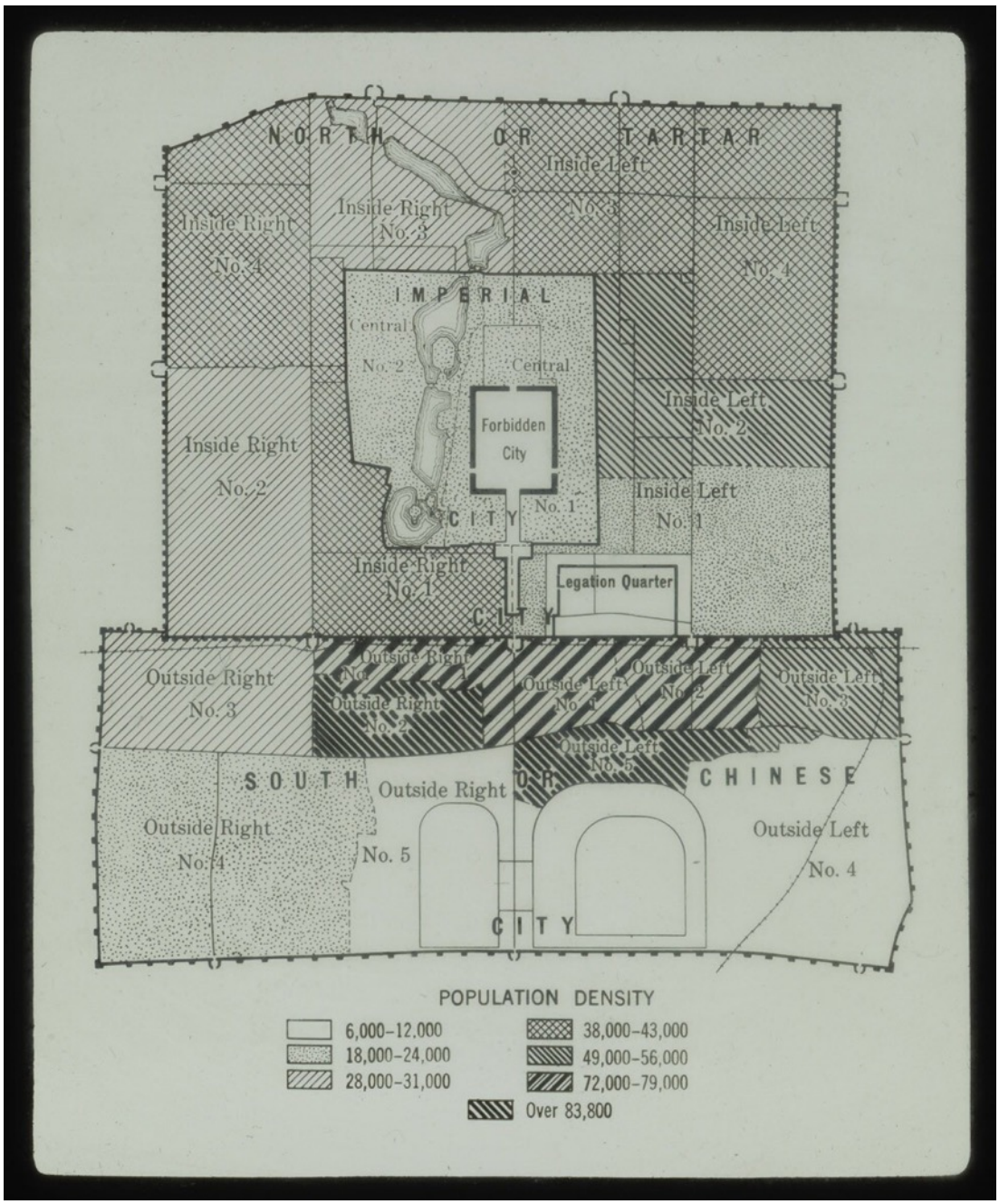


Plate 31 Population density of different city boroughs in Beijing

Sidney D. Gamble, ca.1924–1927, lantern slides, Sidney D. Gamble Photographs Collection, accessed January 6, 2019, https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r3cc0v47h.

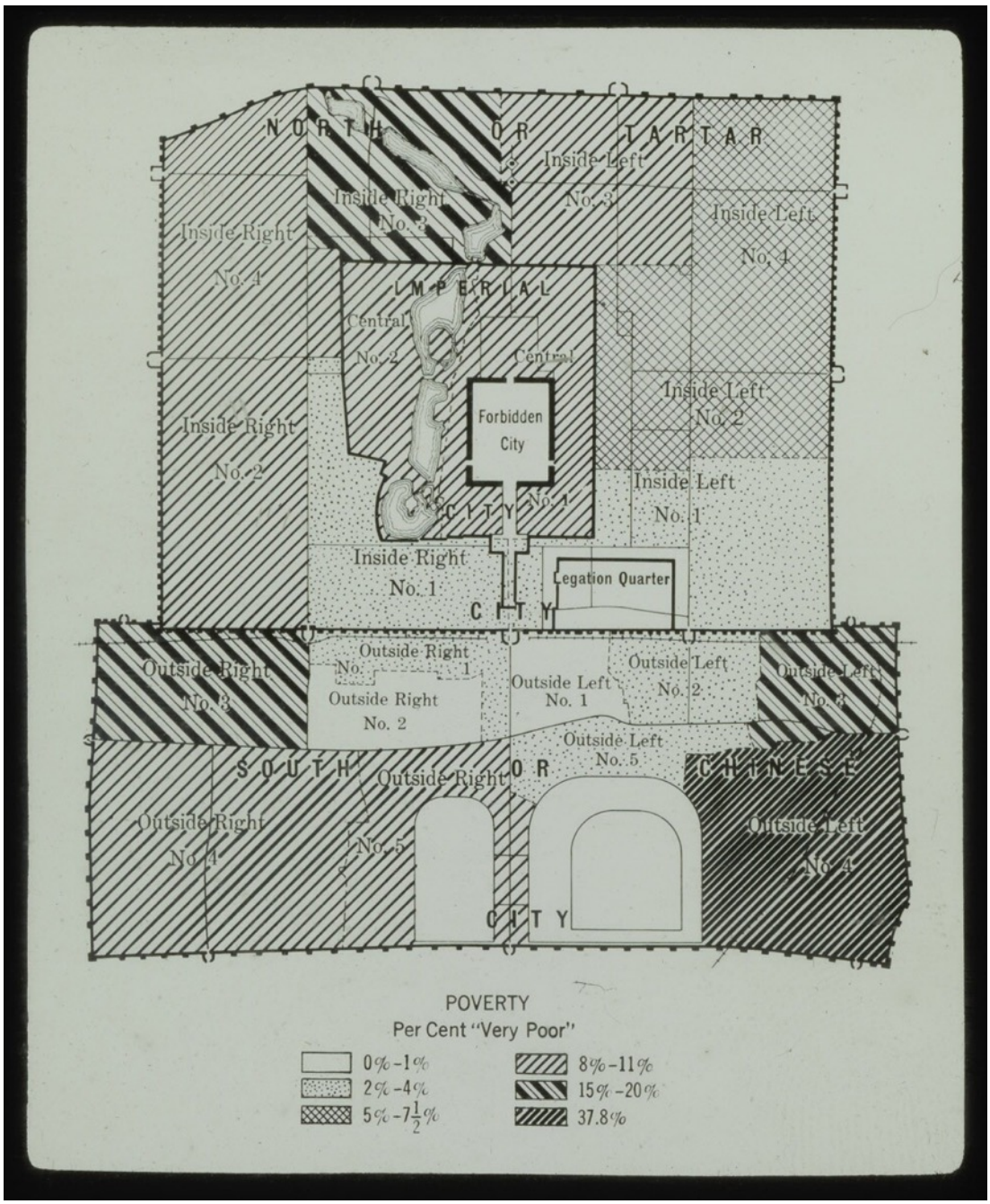


Plate 32 Poverty of different city boroughs in Beijing

Sidney D. Gamble, ca.1924–1927, lantern slides, Sidney D. Gamble Photographs Collection, accessed January 6, 2019, https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r3cc0v47h.

Section Three

The Ontologies of the Shop Front

Plate 33 The Bustling Dashilar Commercial Street

Hedda Morrison, *Western End of Dashalan Street Showing Gate, Shop Signs, Rickshaw Puller, and Pedestrians*, ca.1933–1946, Harvard-Yenching Library of the Harvard College Library, Harvard University, accessed April 22, 2019, https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:16454$1i. The gate at either end of the Dashilar Commercial Street clearly defined its limits. The shop signs, rickshaws, and pedestrians beyond these gates created strong commercial atmosphere. In this photo, there is a long narrow flag on the left side which belonged to a modern pharmacy, Watsons 屈臣氏大药房; *Tongren tang* 同仁堂 stands far on the right side and behind the many shop signs.

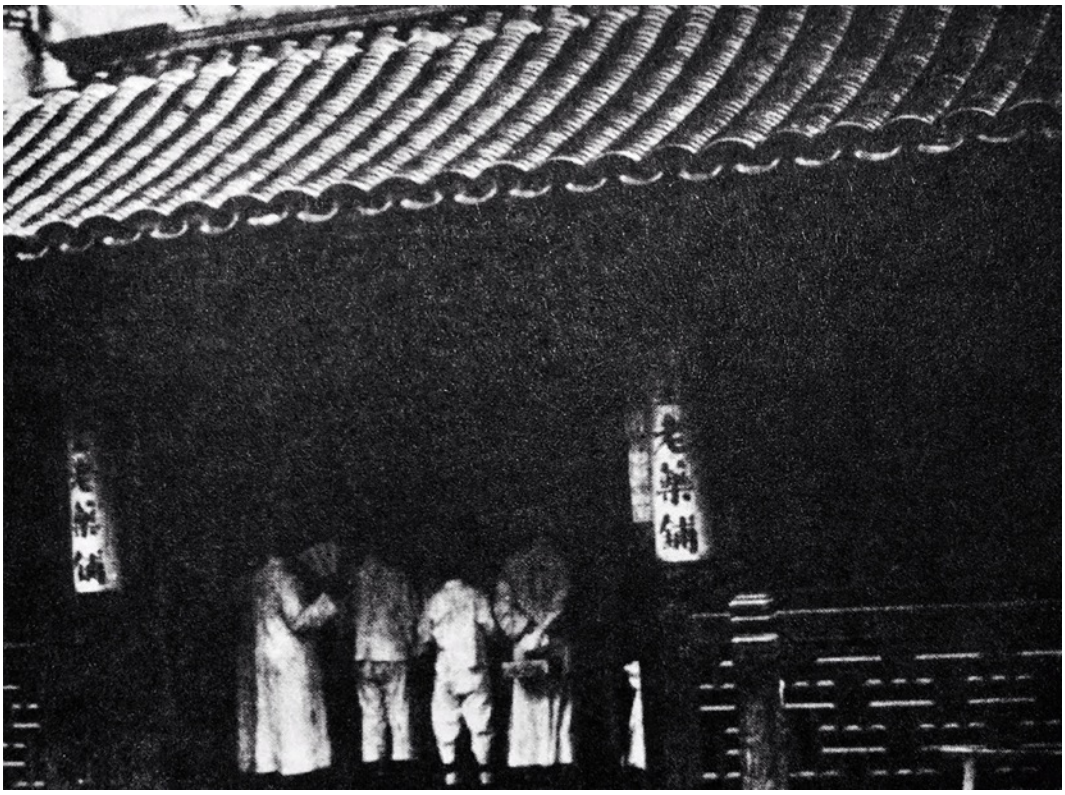


Plate 34 The shop front of *Tongren tang*'s main store at Dashilar in the 1920s
In K. K. Chen, "Chinese Drug Stores," *Annals of Medical History* 7, no. 2 (1925), 104. Standing on the south of the Dashilar Commercial Street – one of the busiest streets in the neighbourhood – *Tongren tang* was a tranquil isle in the sea: it simply opened its front to the street without presenting anything attractive at all.

(a)

(b)

(c)

Plate 35 *Deshou tang*'s shop front innovation at Dashilar

The two-storey construction, the round clock and dome, and the steam-train model are overtly foreign. (a) The shop front of *Deshou tang*'s store at Dashilar, by China National Radio, in "Deshou tang: yiyao pinpai zaichuang huiguang" 德寿堂：医药品牌再创辉煌 *CNR.CN*, last modified April 21, 2008, http://www.cnr.cn/2008tf/xwwhz/lzh/200804/t20080421_504768222.html; (b) photograph by the author, June 6, 2019; (c) photograph by Wang Tian 王甜, *Time Out*, accessed April 24, 2019, http://www.timeoutcn.com/features/75384.html.

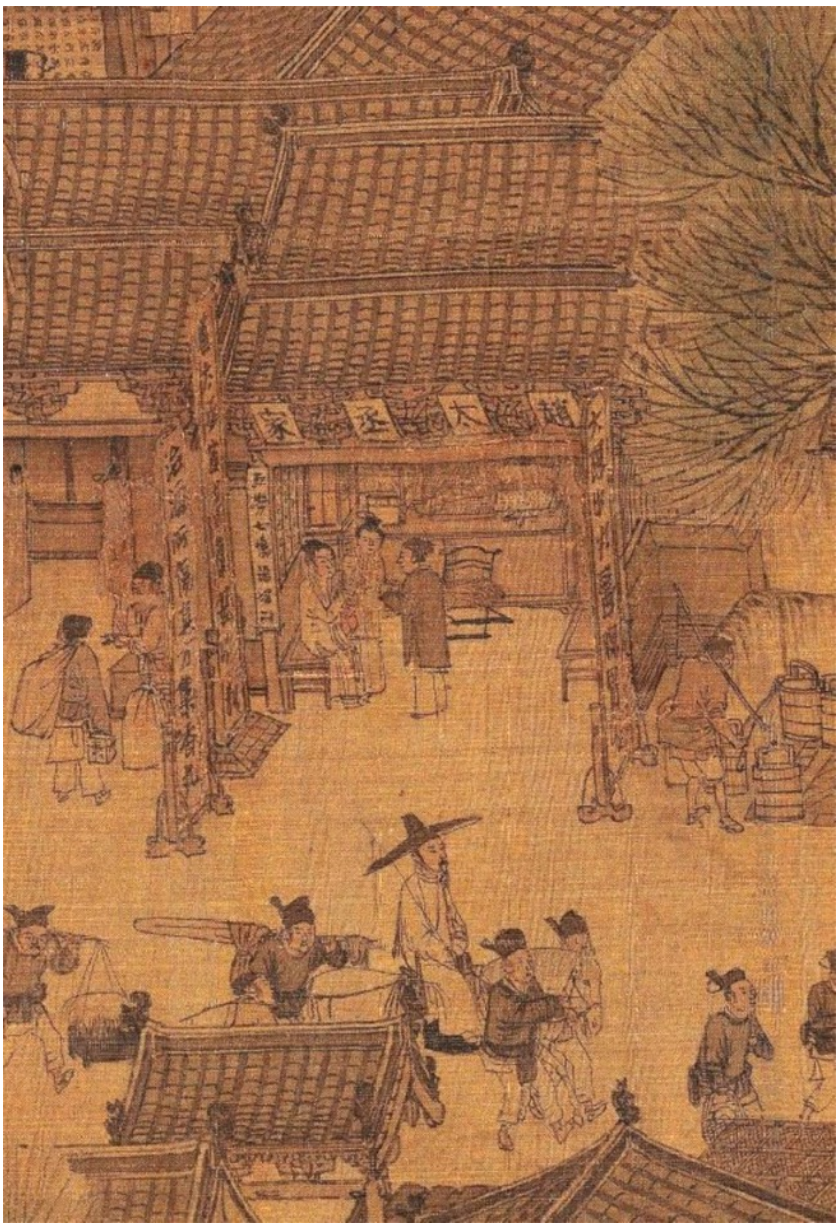
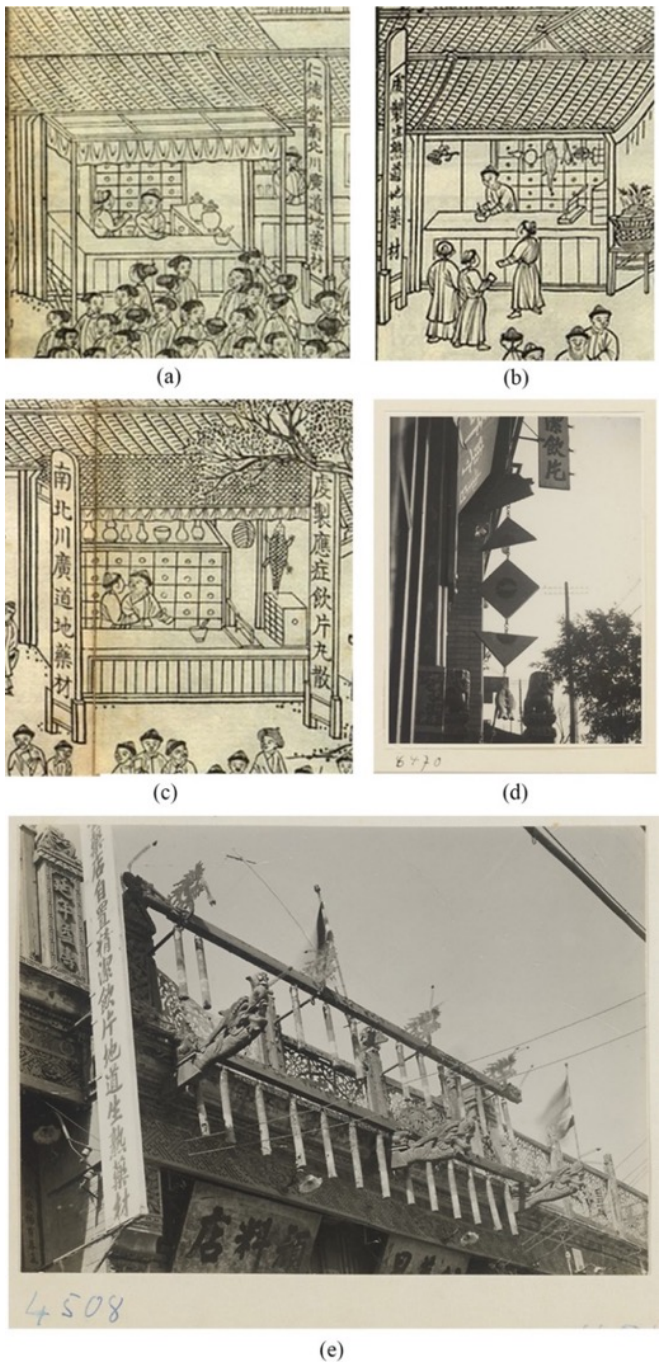


Plate 36 The front views of Song and Qing dispensaries
(a) *Qingming shanghe tu* 清明上河图 (Along the River During the Qingming Festival, late eleventh or early twelfth century, part), attributed to Zhang Zeduan (1085–1145). Courtesy of Palace Museum, Beijing. The shop front featured a set of signs: the sign over the main entrance indicated the proprietor; the towering signs in front of the shop advertised remedies for hangover and official issued pills for disorders of the stomach and intestine; a smaller but forward-facing sign that was fixed on the pillar advertised medications for ailments of overindulgence and overwork.[1]

[1] T.J. Hinrichs, "The Song and Jin Periods," in *Chinese Medicine and Healing: An Illustrated History*, ed. T.J. Hinrichs and Linda L. Barnes (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 118. See also Zhou Baozhu, *"Qingming shanghe tu" yu Qingming shanghe xue*《清明上河图》与清明上河学 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chuban she, 1997), 88, 95–104.

Plate 36 The front views of Song and Qing dispensaries
(b) The front view of a Qing drugstore, in Janggiya Agui 章佳 阿桂 et al., *Baxun wanshou shengdian* 八旬万寿盛典 [Grand Ceremony Celebrating the Emperor's Eightieth Birthday] (1792), vol. 78, 92b. This shop front featured two towering signs and a pair of drugstore signs – a plaster and two half plasters suspended on a chain.



(a) (b) (c) (d) (e)

Plate 37 Traditional Chinese drugstores featured towering signs in Qing and Republican Beijing

(a)–(c) The front view of drugstores, by Leng Mei 冷枚 and Song Junye 宋骏业, in Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 et al., ed, *Wanshou shengdian chuji* 万寿盛典初集 [Grand Ceremony Celebrating the Emperor's Birthday, Premier Compilation] (1717), vol. 41, 17a, 40b, 55; (d)–(e) The towering signs of traditional Chinese drugstores in Republican Beijing, photograph by Hedda Morrison, *Shop Signs, Calls, Houses, Fields Album. Part 1*, ca.1933–1946, Harvard-Yenching Library, accessed April 23, 2019, https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:11242$1i; https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:8388$1i.

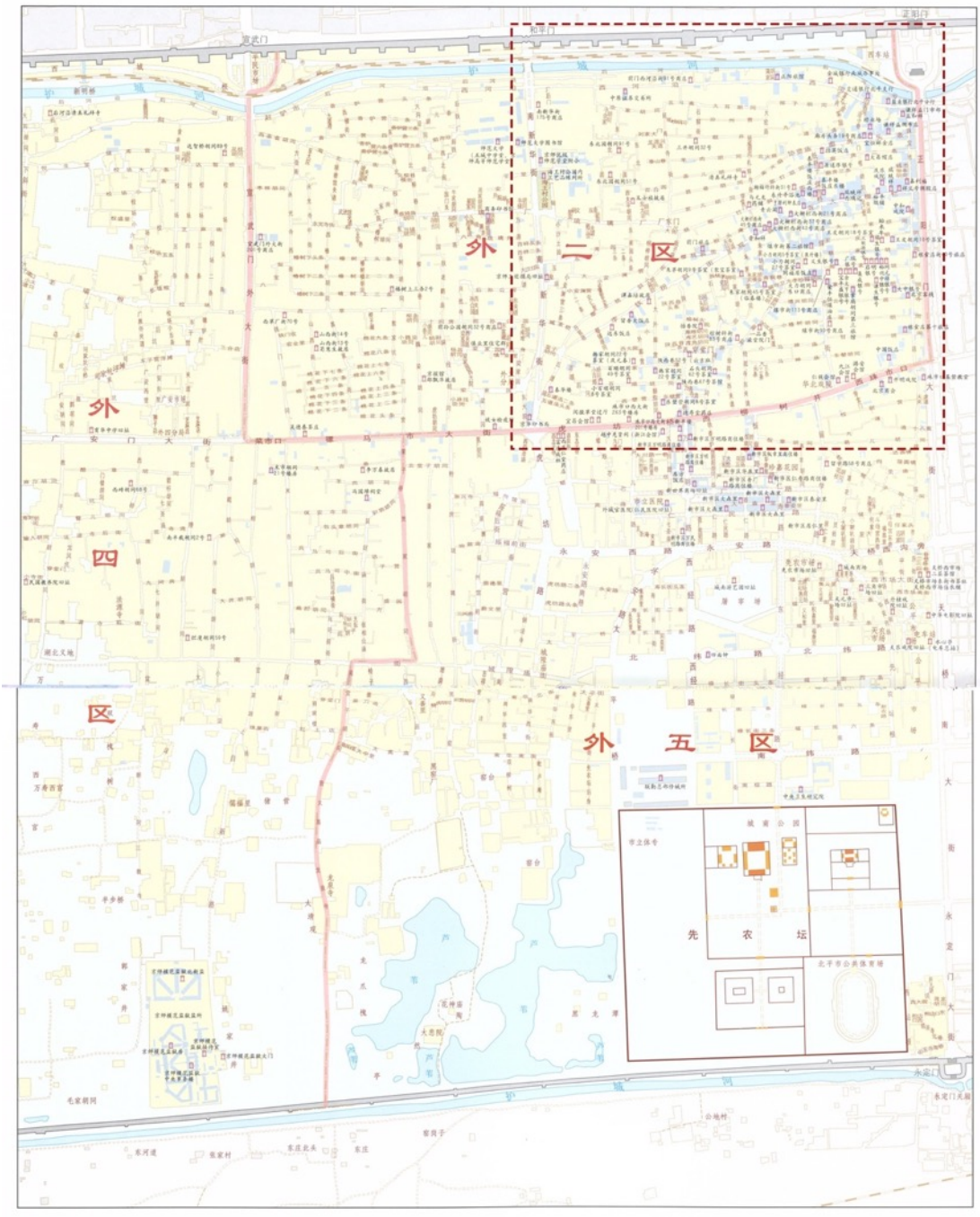


Plate 38 The distribution of “modern architecture” in Dashilar

(a) Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., “The Distribution of Modern Architecture (II),” in *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 98–99. According to the note of this mapping, the marked buildings are either of Western-style or evidently influenced by Western architectural styles; there are a few buildings that have Western ornaments but are excluded from this map, because they are not so apparently influenced by the West.

(b)

(c) (d)

Plate 38 The distribution of “modern architecture” in Dashilar

(b) There are only two “modern” buildings related to healthcare in Dashilar; (c) *Mayuanlong* (traditional drugstore) 马元龙药铺; (d) *Deshou tang* (traditional drugstore) 德寿堂药店.

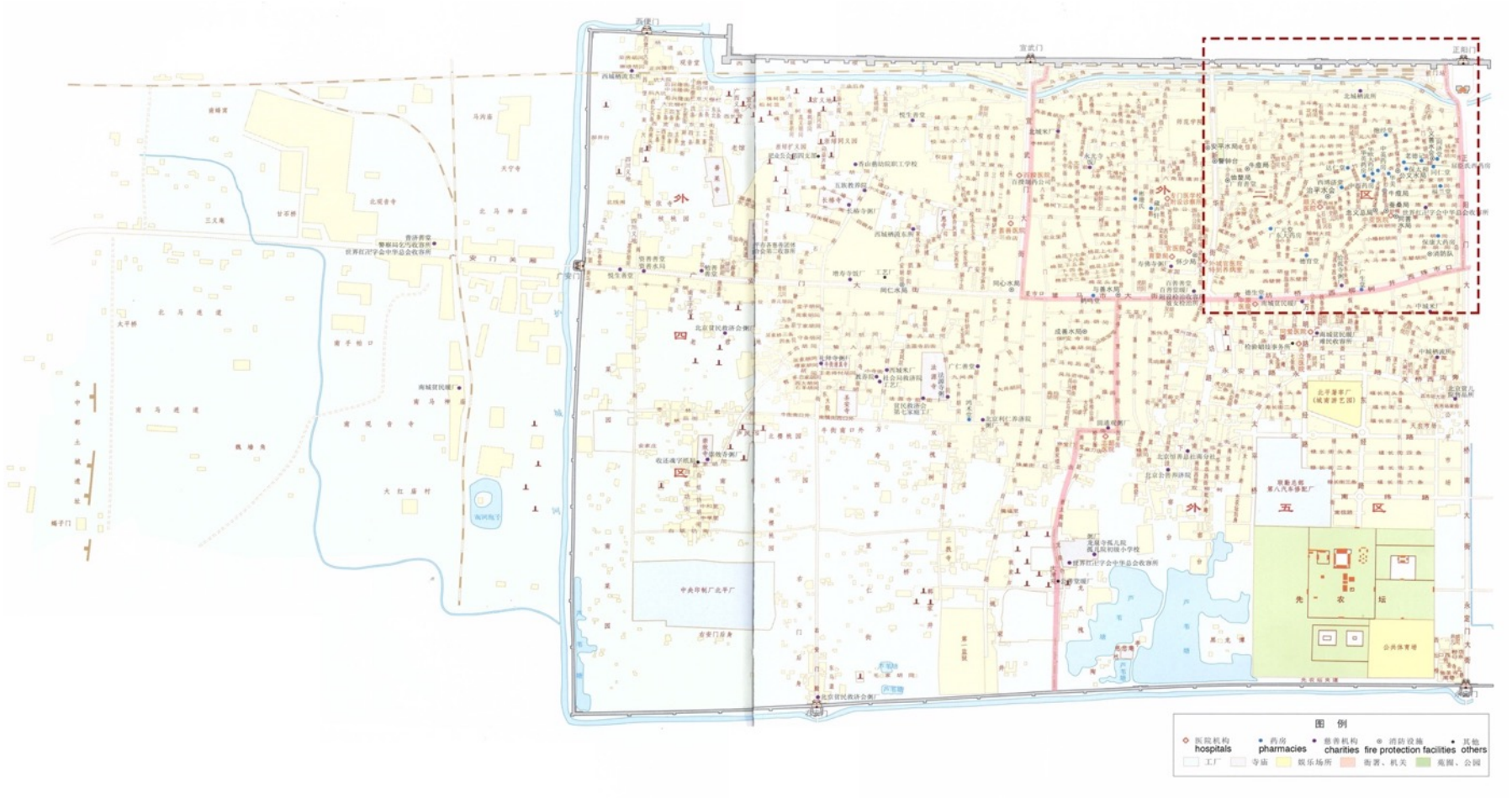
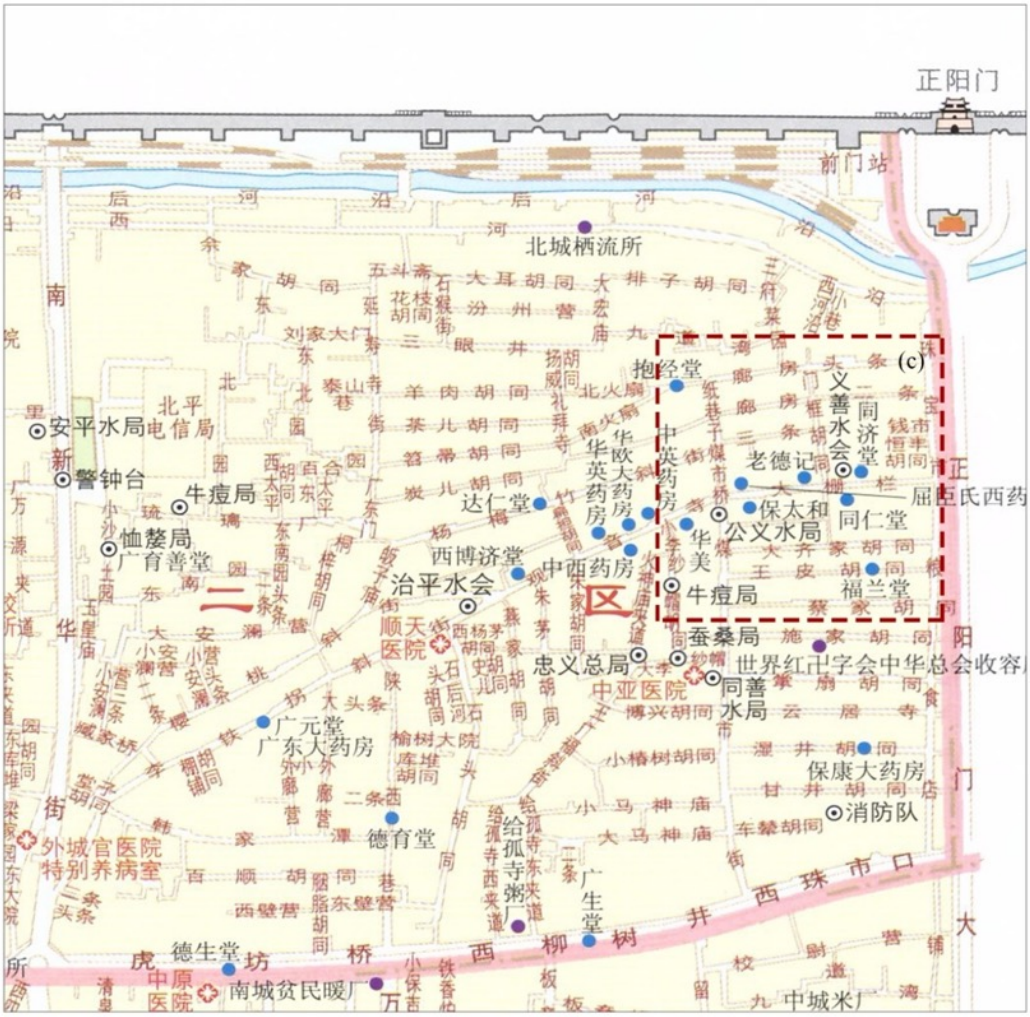


Plate 39 The modern healthcare system in Dashilar

(a) The distribution of medical, charitable, and fire protection facilities, in Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 94–95.



(b)

(c)

Plate 39 The modern healthcare system in Dashilar

(b)–(c) While *Tongren tang* 同仁堂 and *Yishan shuihui* 义善水会, the fire-protection organisation established by *Tongren* tang, are included in the healthcare system in the early twentieth century, *Deshou tang* which had a western appearance was not considered a part of the system.

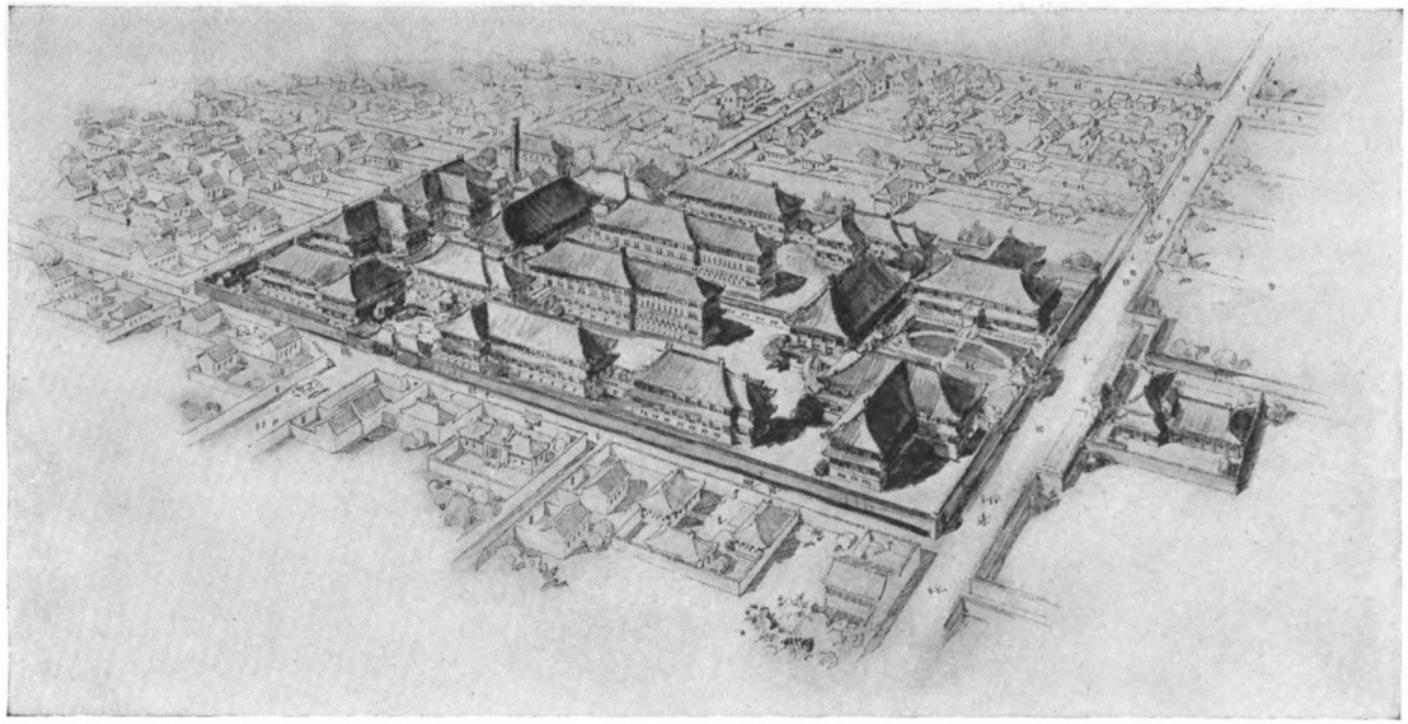


Plate 40 Peking Union Medical College, Perspective by Harry Hussey

Rockefeller Foundation, China Medical Board, *Third Annual Report (January 1, 1917–December 31, 1917)* (New York: Offices of the Board, 1916), 9, accessed November 19, 2019, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b4276705&view=1up&seq=61. According to the memoir of Hussey, the exteriors of the PUMC complex did resemble as closely as possible the model of imperial palaces. To achieve proper shapes and proportions in terms of the roofs, Hussey heavily consulted with Zhu Qiqian 朱启钤 (1871–1964), the Minister of the Interior but also an architect who had taken charge of several important architectural projects in Beijing.[2]

[2] Harry Hussey, *My Pleasure and Palaces: An Informal Memoir of Forty Years in Modern China* (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968), 229.

Plate 41 The narrow flag of the Occidental Grand Pharmacy 欧美大药房

On the left. Hedda Morrison. *Street Scene with Shop Signs for Shoe Shops (center)*, ca.1933–1946. Harvard-Yenching Library of the Harvard College Library, Harvard University, accessed April 22, 2019, https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:16259$1i.

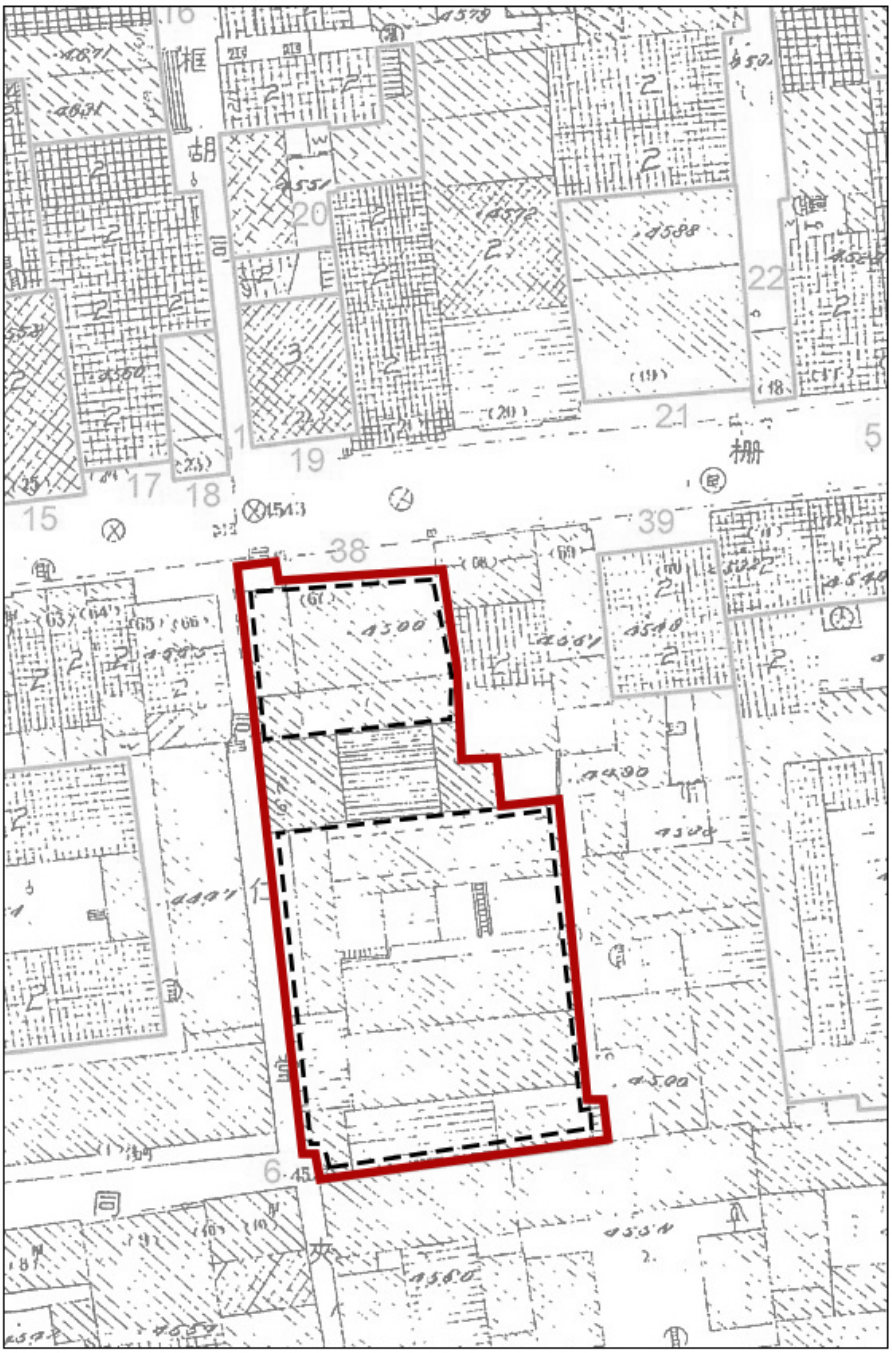


Plate 42 The plan of *Tongren tang*

As the old store of Tongren tang has been demolished in the 1990s, this plan is developed upon a mapping of Dashilar in the 1950s which is collected in Wang Shiren 王世仁, ed., Zengding xuannan hongxue tuzhi 增订宣南鸿雪图志 (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2015), vol. 1, 454. Although the plan is not very clear, it shows that *Tongren tang*'s oldest store in Dashilar is a one-story complex, consisting of a front shop in the front, a "headquarter" with storage rooms in the centre and a mill in the back.

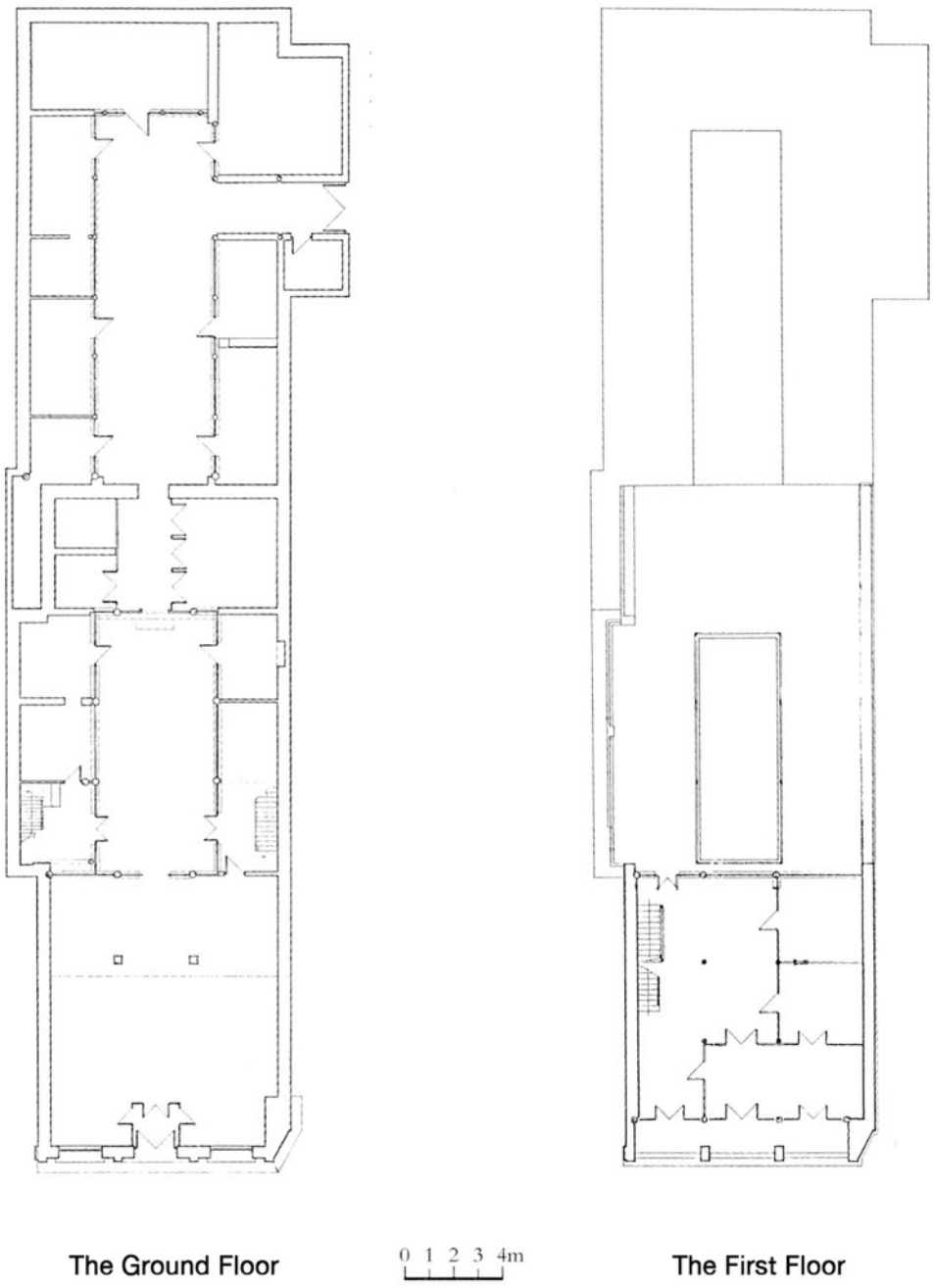


Plate 43 The architectural plans of *Deshou tang*
Wang Shiren 王世仁, ed., *Zengding xuannan hongxue tuzhi* 增订宣南鸿雪图志 (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2015), vol. 2, 1120.

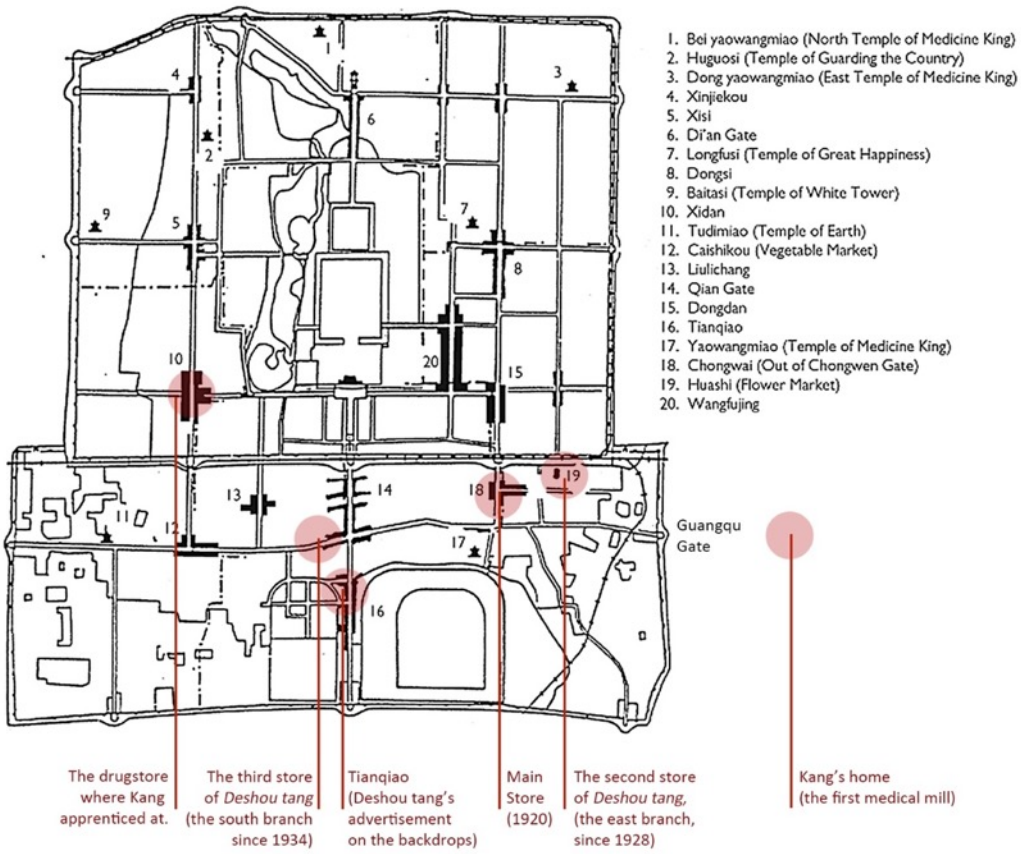


Plate 44 The key sites of Kang Boqing's medical practices

The market system of Republican Beijing is adapted from Madeleine Yue Dong, *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories*, ed. Reginald E. Zelnik (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 149, Fig. 18.

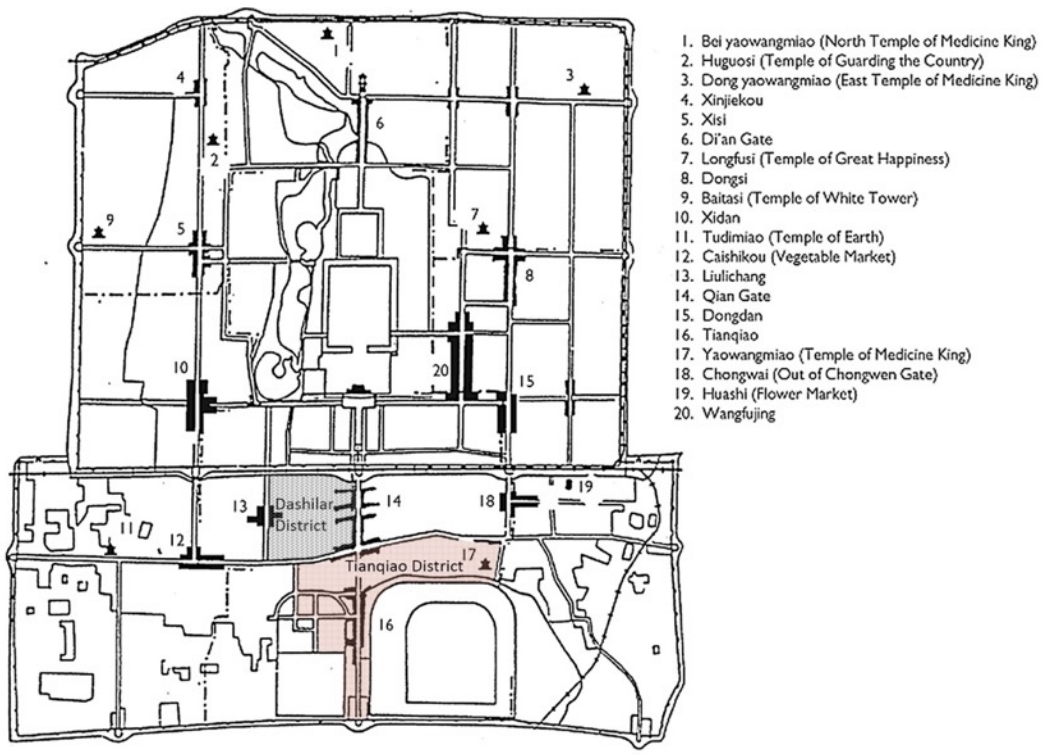


Plate 45 Dashilar and Tianqiao in the market system of Republican Beijing

The market system of Republican Beijing is adapted from Madeleine Yue Dong, *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories*, ed. Reginald E. Zelnik (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 149, Fig. 18.

(a)

(b)

Plate 46 The second-hand goods and bodily skills at Tianqo Market

(a) Hedda Morrison, *Street Vendor Selling Second-hand Household Goods at Tianqiao Market*, ca.1933–1946. Harvard-Yenching Library, accessed April 29, 2019, https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:13652$1i; (b) Hedda Morrison, *Audience Watching Boy Acrobat Performing a Balancing Act at Tianqiao Market*, ca.1933–1946. Harvard-Yenching Library, accessed April 29, 2019, https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:9566$1i.

Plate 47 An apothecary performed at Tianqiao
Hedda Morrison, *Patent Medicine Seller of Body-building Ointments Flexing a Bow with His Teeth in Front of a Crowd at Tianqiao Market*, ca.1933–1946. Harvard-Yenching Library, accessed April 29, 2019, https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:9322$1i.

Plate 48 The backdrop given to a teahouse performing story-telling songs with drum accompaniment by *Deshou tang*

Photograph provided by Taimei lao zhaopian 泰美老照片, accessed February 25, 2019, http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_66be9ed20100l26y.html.

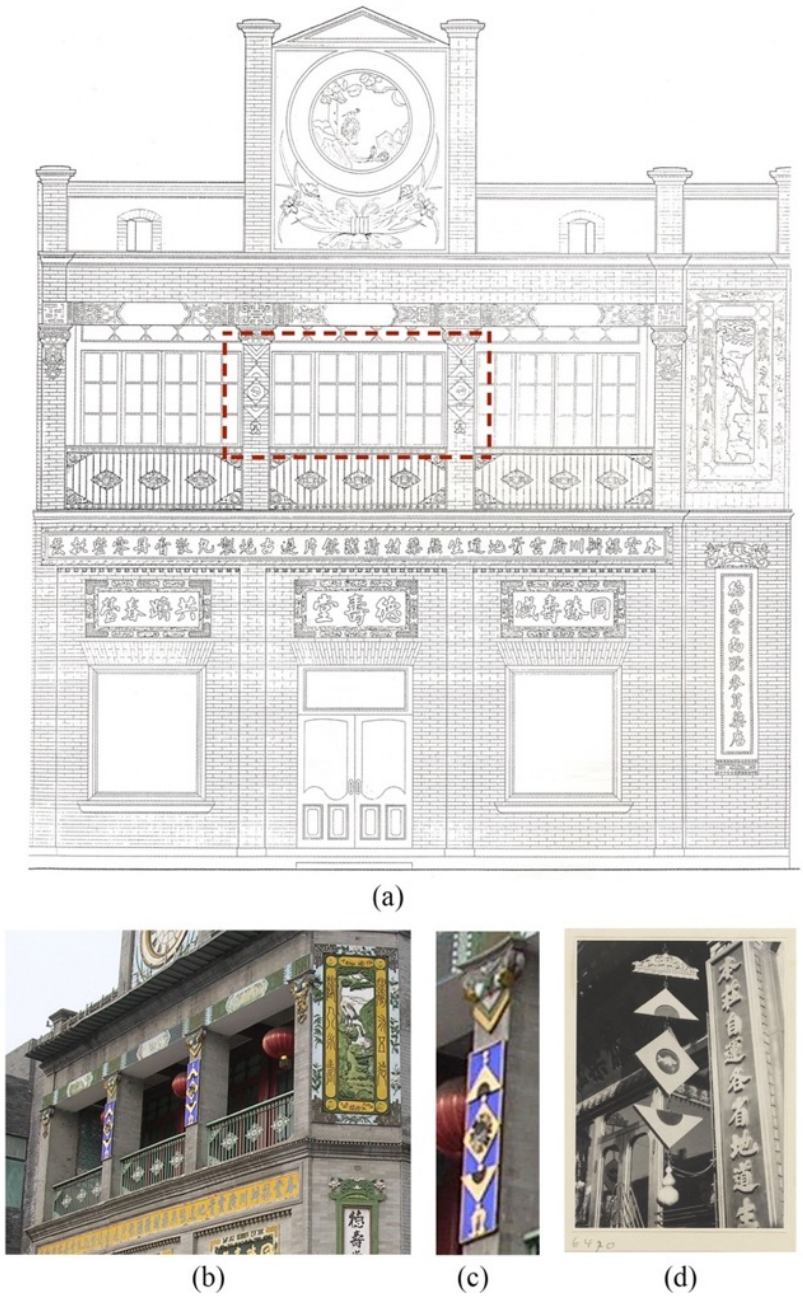


Plate 49 Deshou tang's innovation on the drugstore sign

(a) The south façade of *Deshou tang.* Wang Shiren 王世仁, ed., *Zengding xuannan hongxue tuzhi* 增订宣南鸿雪图志 (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2015), vol. 2, 1121. This façade was drawn in the 1990s before the store was restored. At that time, the store had lost the train model and the "performance" therefore had already stopped. As shown in this drawing, the original round clock decorated on the central part of the parapet had been replaced by a relief pattern consisting of a bird and flowers in a traditional Chinese style. (b)–(c) The drugstore sign is turned into a decorative board attached to the brick pillar on the balcony. (d) The original form of the drugstore sign. Hedda Morrison, *Shop Signs for a Pharmacy*, ca.1933–1946. Harvard-Yenching Library, accessed April 22, 2019, https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:11241$1i.

Plate 50 The steam-train “performance” by Deshou tang’s store at Dashilar
(a) The restored steam-train model running off the “stage.” Photograph by Wang Tian 王甜, *Time Out*, accessed April 24, 2019. http://www.timeoutcn.com/features/75384.html; (b)–(d) The dome is not noticeable from the street, photograph by the author, June 6, 2019.

Plate 51 Deshou tang's pills were sold in a smaller drugstore in Beijing

Hedda Morrison, "Shop interior showing three men behind a counter," in *Handicrafts album 3 (Part 1)*, ca. 1933–1946, Harvard-Yenching Library, accessed August 29, 2018, https://images.hollis.harvard.edu/permalink/f/100kie6/HVD_VIAolvwork95460. The wooden board attached to the pillar in the centre of this photo inscribes: "[This store is] commissioned to sell *Deshou tang*'s '*Kangshi niuhuang jiedu wan*' 康氏牛黄解毒丸 and '*Chuwen qushu dan* 除瘟祛暑丹' [two characteristic pills for hear-clearing and detoxifying]."

Plate 52 The extensive use of text on the shop front of *Ruizengxiang* 瑞增祥

Firmin Laribe, ca.1900-1910, Bibliothèque nationale de France, accessed January 6, 2019, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84330121/f43.item. In the nineteenth century, *Ruilinxiang* 瑞林祥, *Qianxiangyi* 谦祥益, and *Ruishengxiang* 瑞生祥 were the most important fabric shops in Beijing. This photo shows the shop front of *Ruizengxiang* 瑞增祥, a branch store of *Ruishengxiang*. This store was established on the east side of the *Qianmen* Street (outside Dashilar) in 1875. This photo was taken during the Lantern Festival (the fifteenth day of the first month in the lunisolar Chinese calendar). There was a convention for the large fabric shops in Dashilar to compete with each other by displaying well-designed and finely-made lanterns on this festival day. Therefore, we can see in the photo that the first floor of *Ruizengxiang* was decorated with delicate lanterns.

(e)

Plate 52 The extensive use of text on the shop front of Ruizengxiang

(a) This hanging banner indicates the two major categories of the goods on sale: “imported goods and silk fabric.” (b) This banner gives more detailed information about the available silk fabric: “*guxiu* 顾绣” and “*zhuangmang* 粧蟒.” *Guxiu* is a kind of silk fabric of the best quality. *Zhuangmang* is a representative of the refined silk fabric that were manufactured in the *Jiangnan* area (south of Yangtze River). Both of them feature sophisticated embroidery. (c) This banner gives a bit more details about the imported fabric: “*kala* 哈喇”and “*rongni* 绒呢,” both of which are imported woollen fabric. (d) This banner writes: “*cuxi bupi* 粗细布匹” (both coarse and refined cloth). (e) In the couplet “瑞草琪花於斯為盛, 增榮益譽長髮其祥”, the three characters in the name of *Ruixiangxiang* were turned into poetic wishes ingeniously.

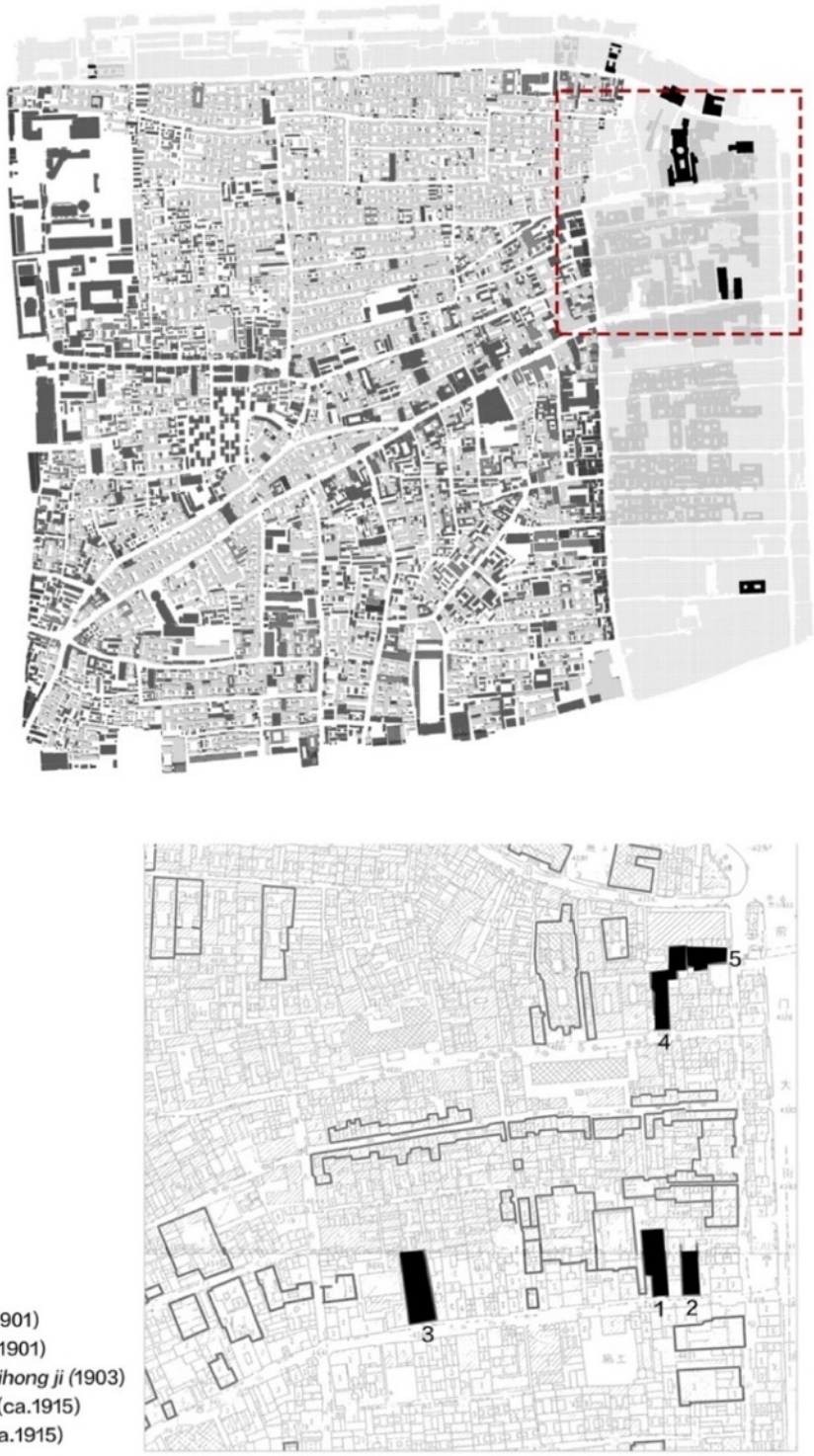
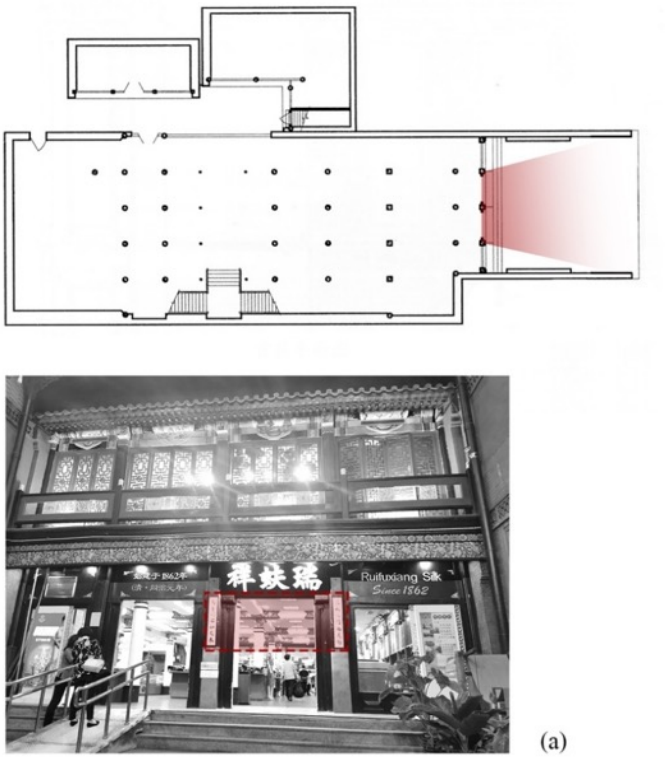


Plate 53 The locations of the silk fabric shops at Dashilar

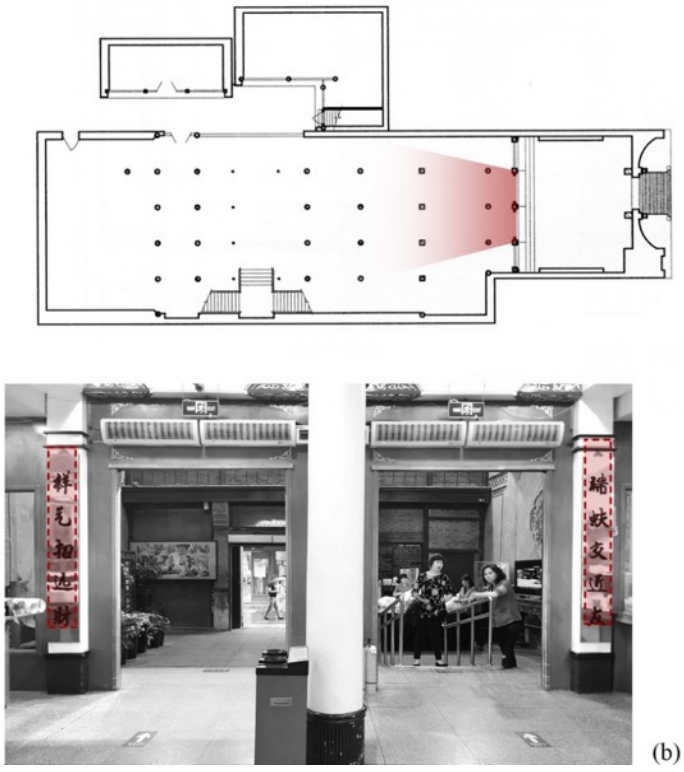
Ruifuxiang 瑞蚨祥 innovated on its shop front in 1901, which led to an immediate response from *Xiangyihao* 祥义号. In 1903, *Ruifuxiang* made further innovations on the shop front when it established a western branch (*Ruifuxiang xihong ji* 瑞蚨祥西鸿记) on the same street. *Qianxiangyi* 谦祥益 reconstructed its main shop and refurbished the store its branch *Yihexiang* 益和祥 around 1915.

Plate 54 The shop front of *Ruifuxiang*'s main store

(a) This anonymous image shows how the shop front of *Ruifuxiang* looked like during the first decade of the twentieth century. It is created based on an old photograph taken in 1928 and is currently displayed as a background in an exhibition area on the first floor of the shop. Photograph by the author on April 6, 2016. For the copyright reason, the old photo taken in 1928 cannot be included here. (b) (c) (d) The wooden plaque of "genuine goods at a fair price" has been removed from the shop front. Photography by the author, February 23, 2015, April 6, 2016, and June 6, 2019, respectively.



(a)



(b)

Plate 55 The main couplet of *Ruifuxiang* is to be read from the inside
(a) The ground plan before the new shop front was constructed. (b) The ground plan after the new shop front was constructed in 1901. Photographs by the author, June 6, 2019.

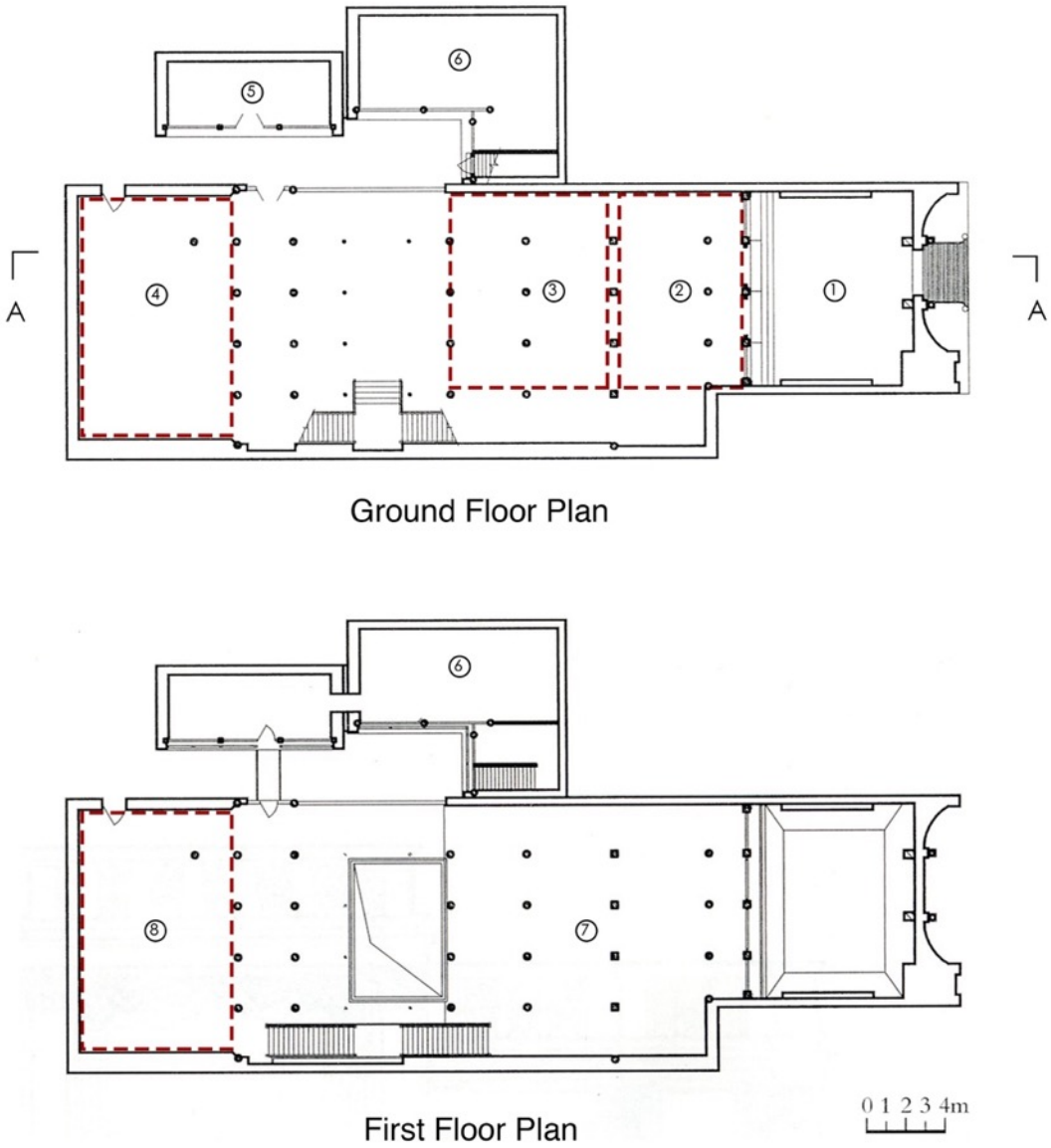
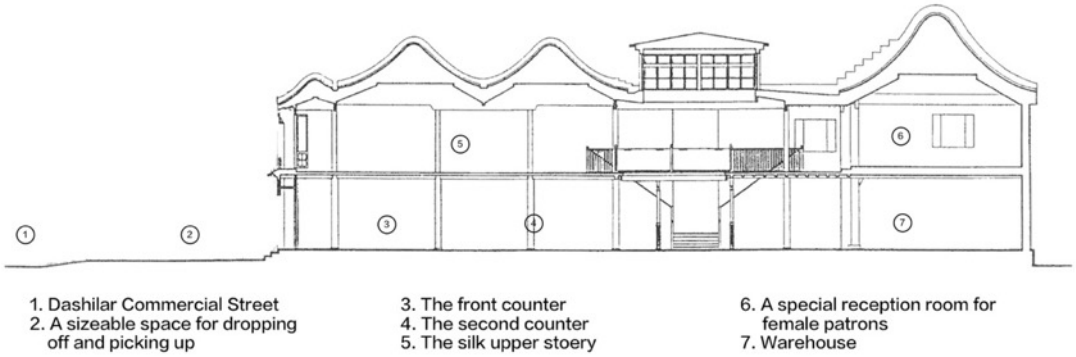
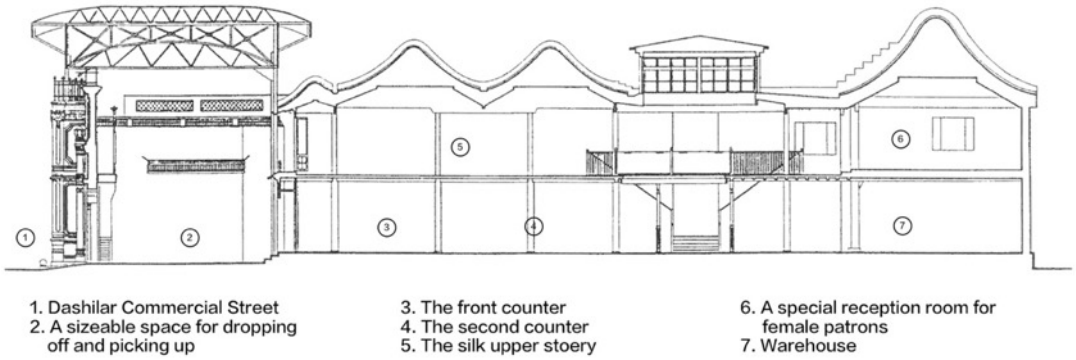


Plate 56 The floor plans of *Ruifuxiang* in the early twentieth century

The plans are produced by the author based on a survey made in the 1990s by Wang Shiren. For the original drawing, see Wang Shiren 王世仁, ed., *Zengding xuannan hongxue tu zhi* 增订宣南鸿雪图志 (Beijing: Zhongguo jiangong chubanshe, 2015), vol. 2, 1115. When Wang made the survey, the inner arrangement of *Ruifuxiang* had completely changed. Because all the stocks began to be displayed in the shop from 1924, all the counters and separated rooms were gradually removed thereafter.



(a)



(b)

Plate 57 The section of *Ruifuxiang*'s main store

These sections are adapted from Zhang Fuhe 张复合, *Beijing jindai jianzhu shi* 北京近代建筑史 [The Modern Architectural History of Beijing from the End of 19th Century to 1930s] (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2004), 32. (a) Section in 1900–1901. The old buildings of *Ruifuxiang* was burned down in 1900 by a fire set by the Boxers. The architectural structure shown in this section was built shortly after the fire and before a new shop front was added in 1901. Therefore, this structure highly conformed to the personalised management of the proprietor of *Ruifuxiang* that had been established in the late nineteenth century, which stressed a socio-economic hierarchy through accessible depth. (b) Section in 1900-1910. The forecourt was turned into a roofed space, which made the accessible depth more measurable for the customers.

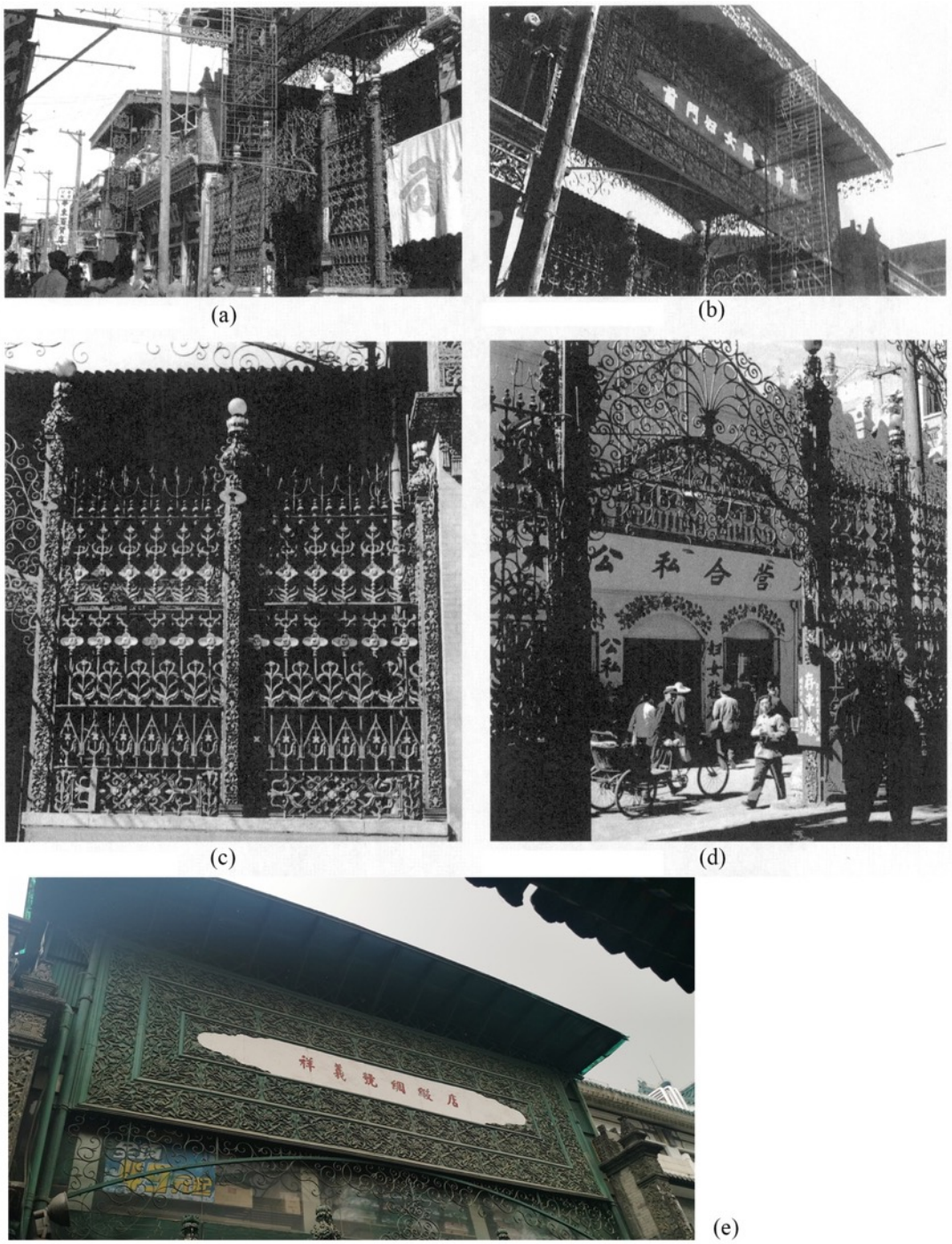


Plate 58 The iron gate of *Xiangyihao* as a subsidiary construction in front of the store

(a)–(d) The shop front of *Xiangyihao* in the 1950s, in Zhongguo jianzhu sheji yanjiuyuan jianzhu lishi yanjiu suo 中国建筑设计研究院建筑历史研究所, ed., *Beijing jindai jianzhu* 北京近代建筑 [The Modern Architecture of Beijing] (Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2008), 117. (e) The name of the shop is inscribed in a much smaller font on the uppermost part of the iron gate. Photograph by the author, June 6, 2019.

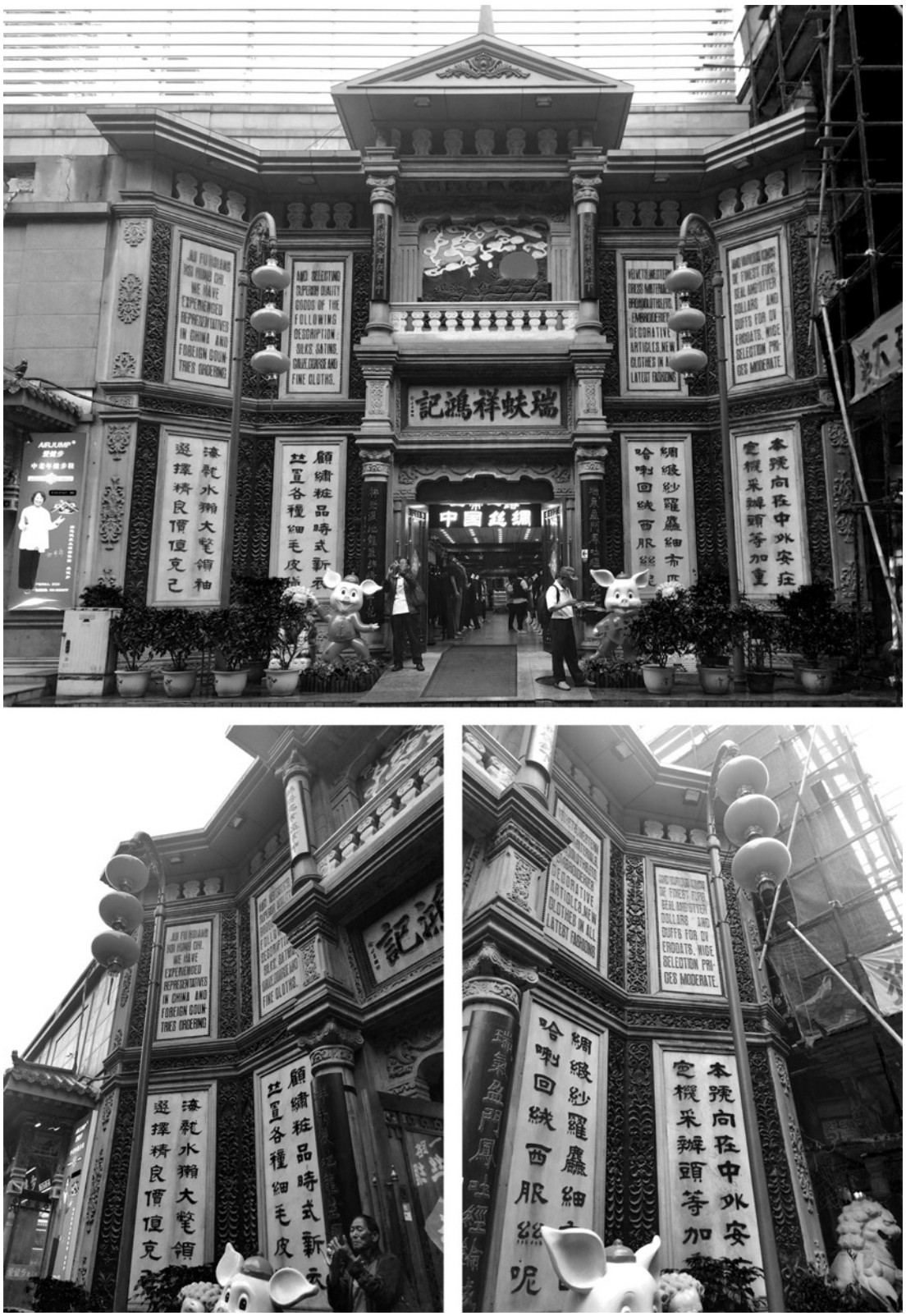


Plate 59 The shop front of *Ruifuxiang xihong ji* 瑞蚨祥西鸿记 (the west branch of *Ruifuxiang*) took textual advertisement to a new level
Photograph by the author, June 6, 2019.

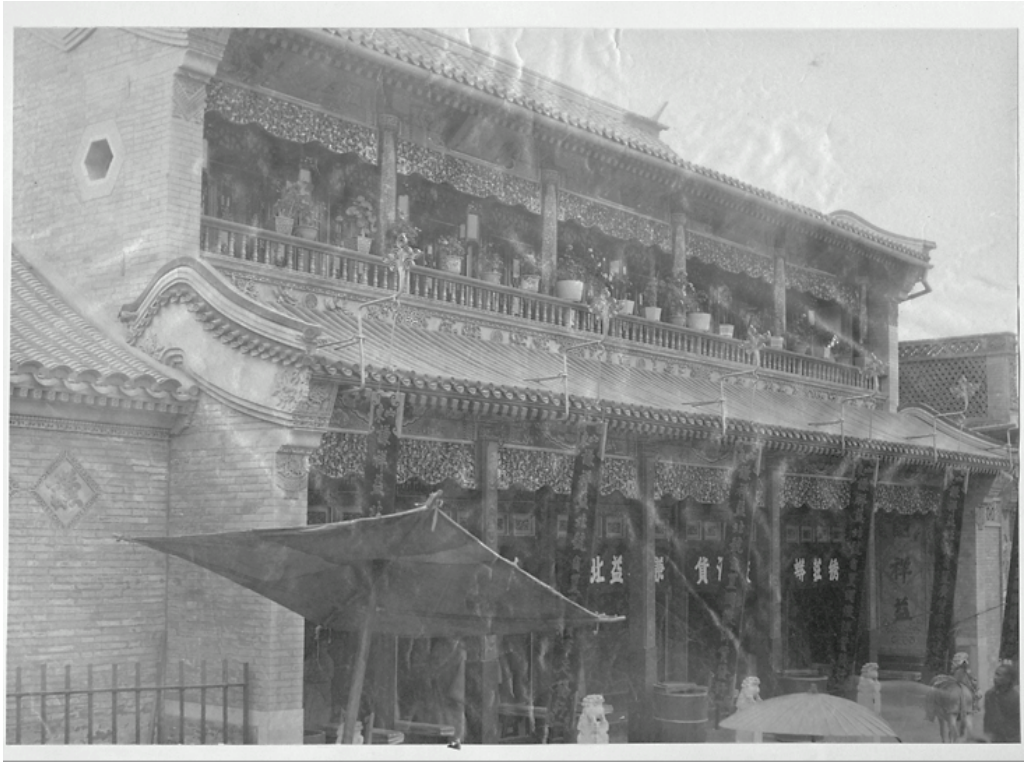


Plate 60 The shop front of the Northern Branch of *Qianxiangyi* 谦祥益 at Bell-Drum Tower, Beijing

American Museum of Natural History Research Library, Digital Special Collections, accessed January 6, 2019, http://lbry-web-007.amnh.org/digital/items/show/29081.

(a)

(c)

(b)

Plate 61 The main store of *Qianxiangyi* imitated the shop front of *Ruifuxiang*

(a) The shop front of *Qianxiangyi*'s main store at *Langfang toutiao* 廊房头条 (1957). Zhongguo jianzhu sheji yanjiuyuan jianzhu lishi yanjiu suo 中国建筑设计研究院建筑历史研究所 (ed.), *Beijing jindai jianzhu* 北京近代建筑 [The Modern Architecture of Beijing] (Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2008), 111. (b) The remains of *Qianxiangyi*'s shop front at *Langfang toutiao*, photograph by the author, June 6, 2019. (c) The shop front of *Qianxiangyi baoji* 谦祥益保记 in Tianjin. Xrdtj, CC BY-SA 3.0, created on Jan 22, 2014, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=30736601. As the original shop front of *Qianxiangyi*'s main store at Dashilar has not been preserved properly, *Qiangxiangyi*'s branch in Tianjin (1917) can provide us a supplemental image of how it looked like in the 1910s. We can see that *Qianxiangyi* wrote the same text on the new shop fronts despite of the changes in their architectural style. It can be suggested that *Qianxiangyi* overlooked the divergence of textual advertising among the shop fronts of *Ruifuxiang*; instead, it only focused on the foreign architectural elements that had been introduced by *Ruifuxiang*.

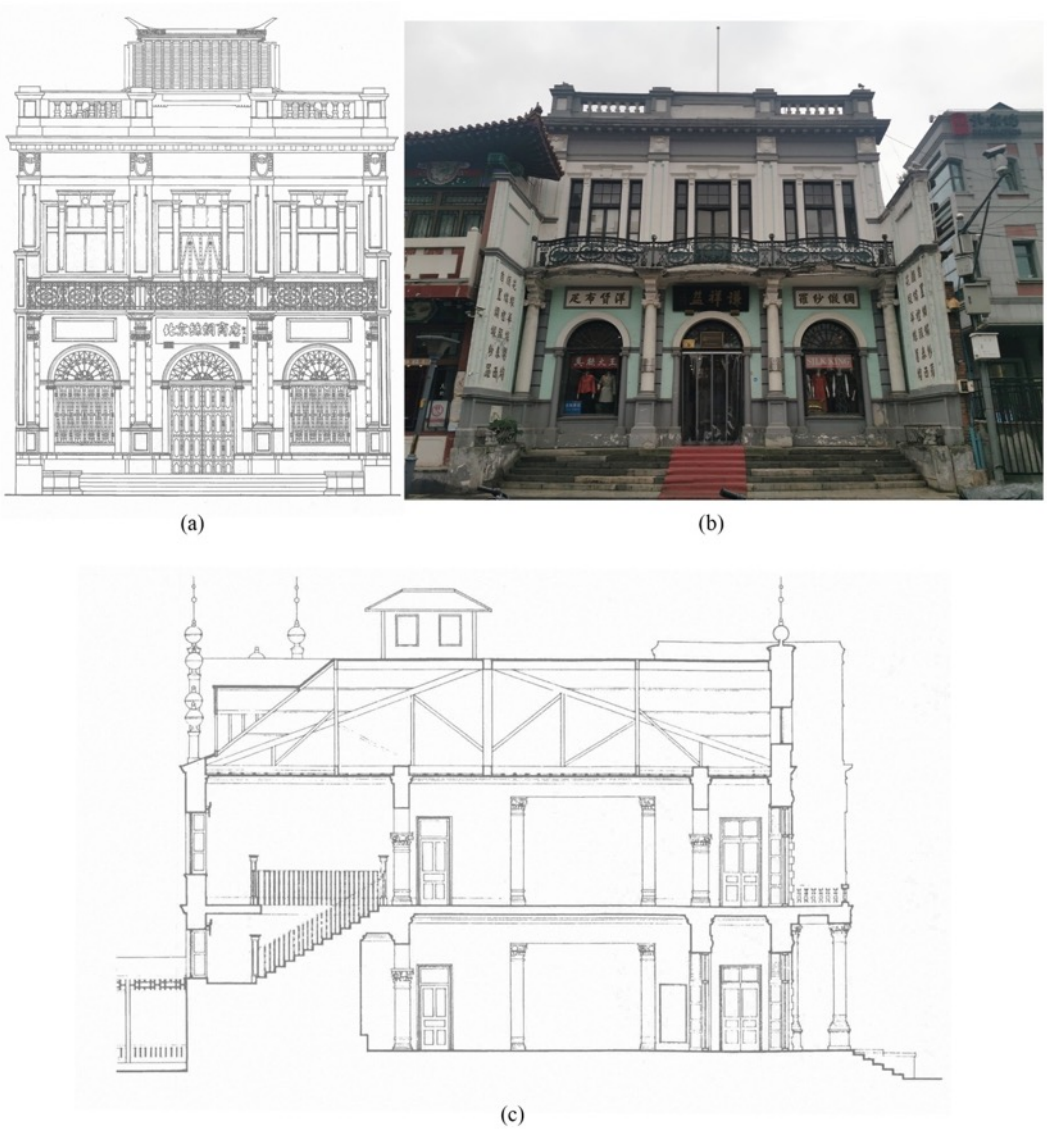
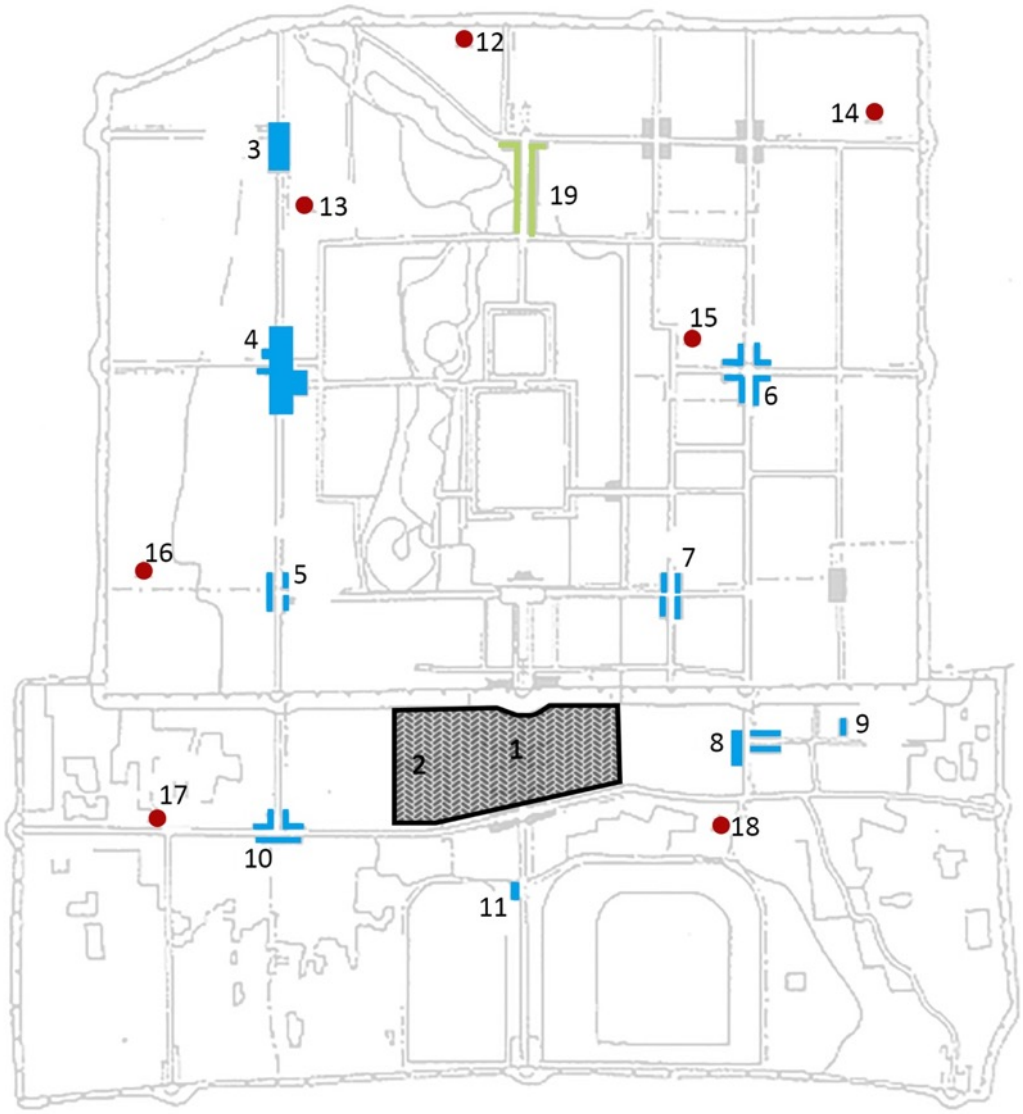


Plate 62 The refurbishment of *Yihexiang* 益和祥 followed the occidental fashion

(a) The shop front of *Yihexiang* in the 1990s, in Zhang Fuhe 张复合, *Tushuo Beijing jindai jianzhu shi* 图说北京近代建筑史 [An Illustrated History of the Modern Architecture in Beijing] (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2008), 30. (b) The current situation of *Yihexiang*'s shop front, photograph by the author, June 6, 2019. (c) The section of *Yihexiang* in the 1990s, in Zhang Fuhe 张复合, *Tushuo Beijing jindai jianzhu shi* 图说北京近代建筑史, 31.



Top-rank markets:
1. Qian Gate (Dashilar)
2. Liulichang

Neighbourhood markets:
3. Xinjiekou
4. Xisi
5. Xidan
6. Dongsi
7. Dongdan
8. Chongwai
9. Flower market
10 Vegetable Market
11. Tianqiao

Temple markets:
12. North Temple of Medicine King
13. Temple of Guarding the Country
14. East Temple of Medicine King
15. Temple of Great Happiness
16.Temple of City God
17. Temple of Earth
18. Temple of Medicine King

Festival market
(special palace occasions):
19. Di'an Gate

Plate 63 Market System of Qing Beijing
Developed upon Madeleine Yue Dong, *Republican Beijing: The City and Its Histories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003),146.

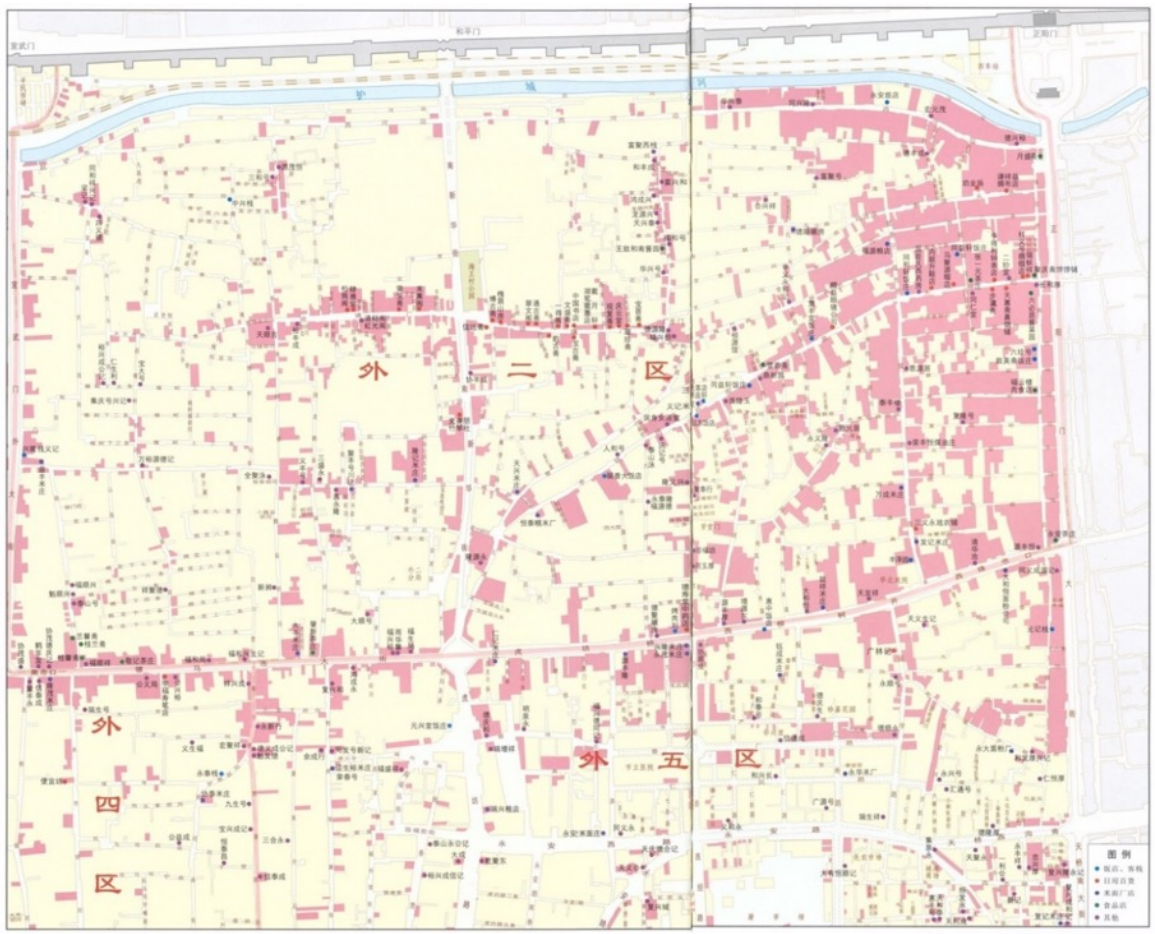


Plate 64 The spatial fabric embodies the special commercial culture of Dashilar

(a) The commercial areas in Dashilar, in Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 74–75.

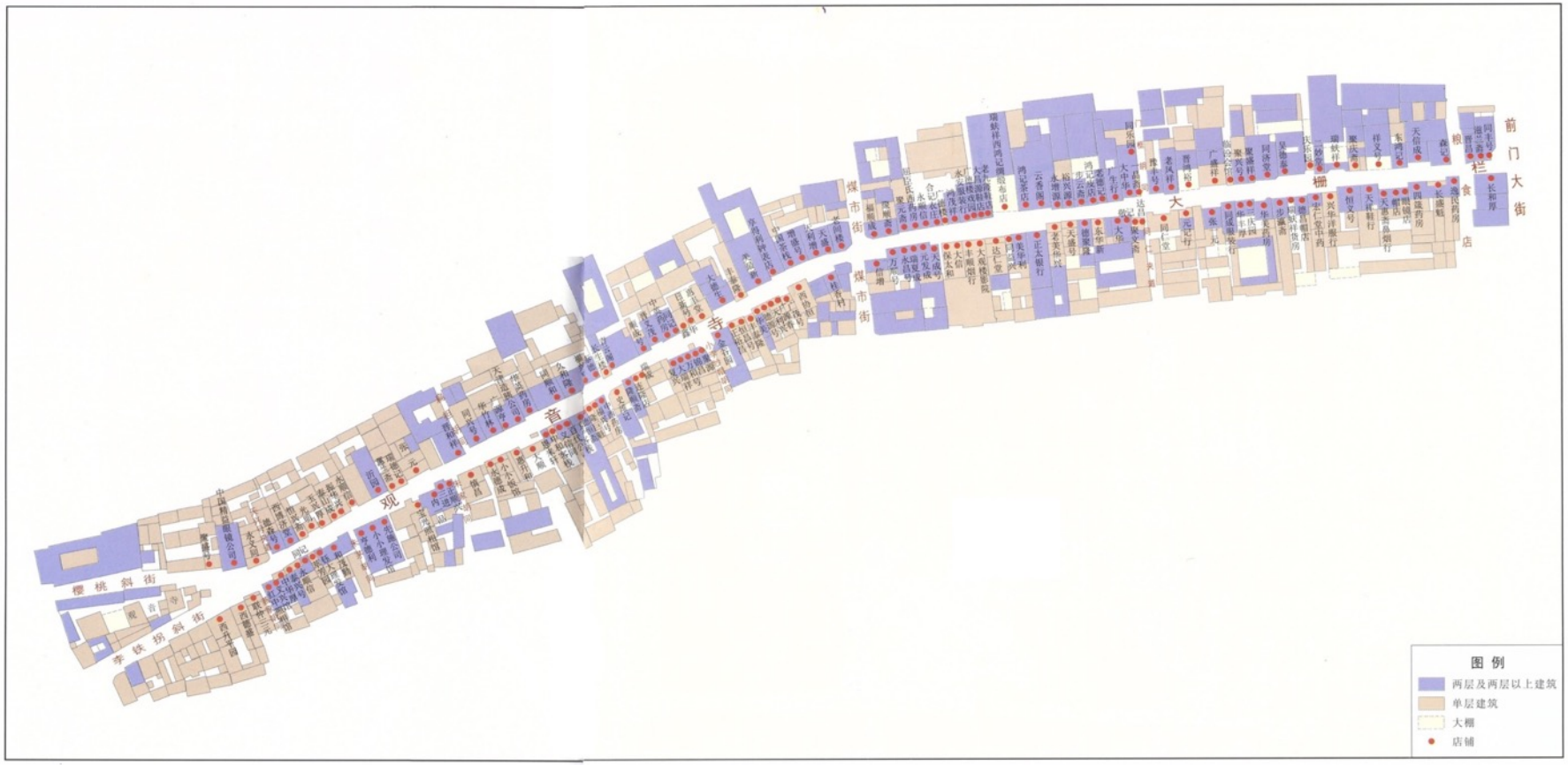


Plate 64 The spatial fabric embodies the special commercial culture of Dashilar

(b) The Dashilar Commercial Street and the Guanyin Temple Street (1935), in Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 80–81

Plate 65 The bookstores at *Lilichang* 琉璃厂 as *heterotopias*
Hedda Morrison, *Handcrafts album 3, Part 1,* ca.1933–1946, Harvard-Yenching Library, accessed April 23, 2019, https://images.hollis.harvard.edu/permalink/f/100kie6/HVD_VIAolvgroup20

Plate 66 The Liulichang Street (1947)

Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 80–81.

Section Four

The Ontologies of the Mustard Seed Garden

Plate 67 The stele at *Hanjia tan* 韩家潭

(a) Photograph by the author, April 6, 2016. Standing in front of a two-storey residential building, the stele conceals itself among an ivory electric box, two rusty bicycles, and also a couple of tricycles covered by rain capes of different colours. The inscription tells us nothing about the erection of this stele. Therefore, it is unknown who built it, when, and for what purpose. The carving is rather shoddy, and the text displays poor grammar.

Plate 67 The stele at Hanjia tan 韩家潭

(b) Photograph by the author, June 6, 2019.

Plate 68 The claimed Mustard Seed Garden at 25 *Hanjia tan* 韩家潭
Photograph by the author, April 6, 2016.

Plate 69 The pomegranate trees in Dashilar

The courtyard of 31 *Shejia hutong* 佘家胡同, Photograph by Shaoqing 少卿, "Zuimei Siheyuan" 最美四合院 [The Most Beautiful Courtyard Compound], *Xin Jingbao* 新京报 [Beijing News], published August 20, 2012, http://www.bjnews.com.cn/feature/2012/08/20/217870.html.

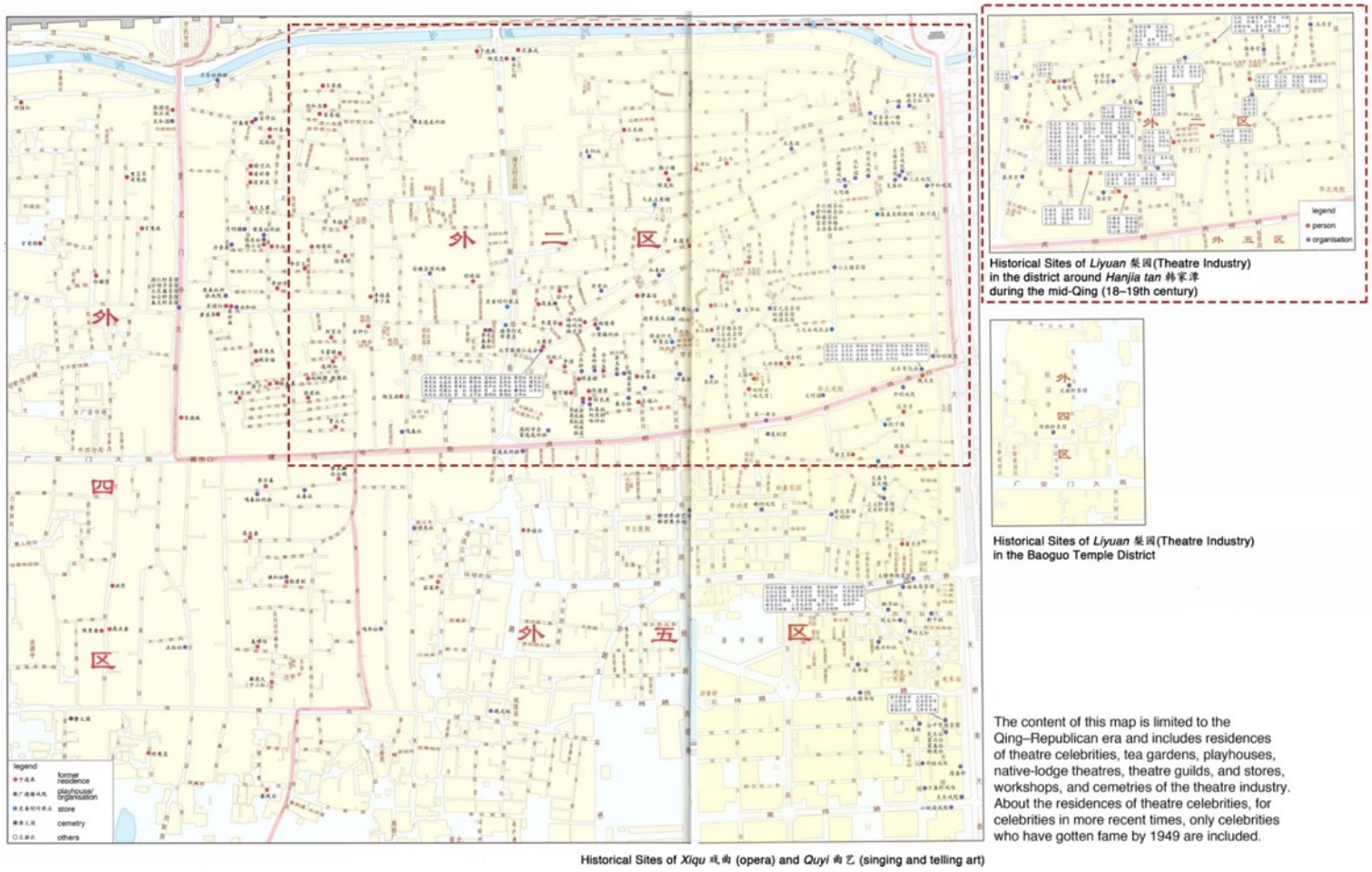


Plate 70 Historical sites of *xiqu* 戏曲 [opera] and *quyi* 曲艺 [singing and telling art], south of Xuanwu, Beijing

(a) Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 48–49.

Plate 70 Historical sites of xiqu 戏曲 [opera] and quyi 曲艺 [singing and telling art], south of Xuanwu, Beijing (b) Part 1.

Plate 70 Historical sites of xiqu 戏曲 [opera] and quyi 曲艺 [singing and telling art], south of Xuanwu, Beijing (c) Part 2.

Plate 70 Historical sites of xiqu 戏曲 [opera] and quyi 曲艺 [singing and telling art], south of Xuanwu, Beijing

(d) Part 3. Historical Sites of Liyuan 梨园 (Theatre Industry) in the district around Hanjia tan 韩家潭 during the mid-Qing (18–19th century).

Plate 71 The Beijing Mustard Seed Garden as an imagined garden by the members of the Guangzhou huiguan

Illustration by Zhang Ke 章可, in *Beijing Lingnan wenwu zhi* 北京岭南文物志, ed. Zhang Cixi 张次溪 (Zhang Cixi, 1954), plate. The text under this illustrate writes: “The Beijing Mustard Seed Garden is at *Hanjia tan*. [The garden] was constructed by Li Liweng 李笠翁 (Li Yu). Hang Dazong 杭大宗 (Hang Shijun) used to lived here. This illustration is drawn by Zhang Ke.” *Beijing Lingnan wenwu zhi* is a book to record the cultural relics of the sojourners from Guangdong Province to Beijing, compiled by Zhang Cixi and Ye Gongzuo 叶恭绰, both of whom were leading members of *Guangzhou huiguan*.

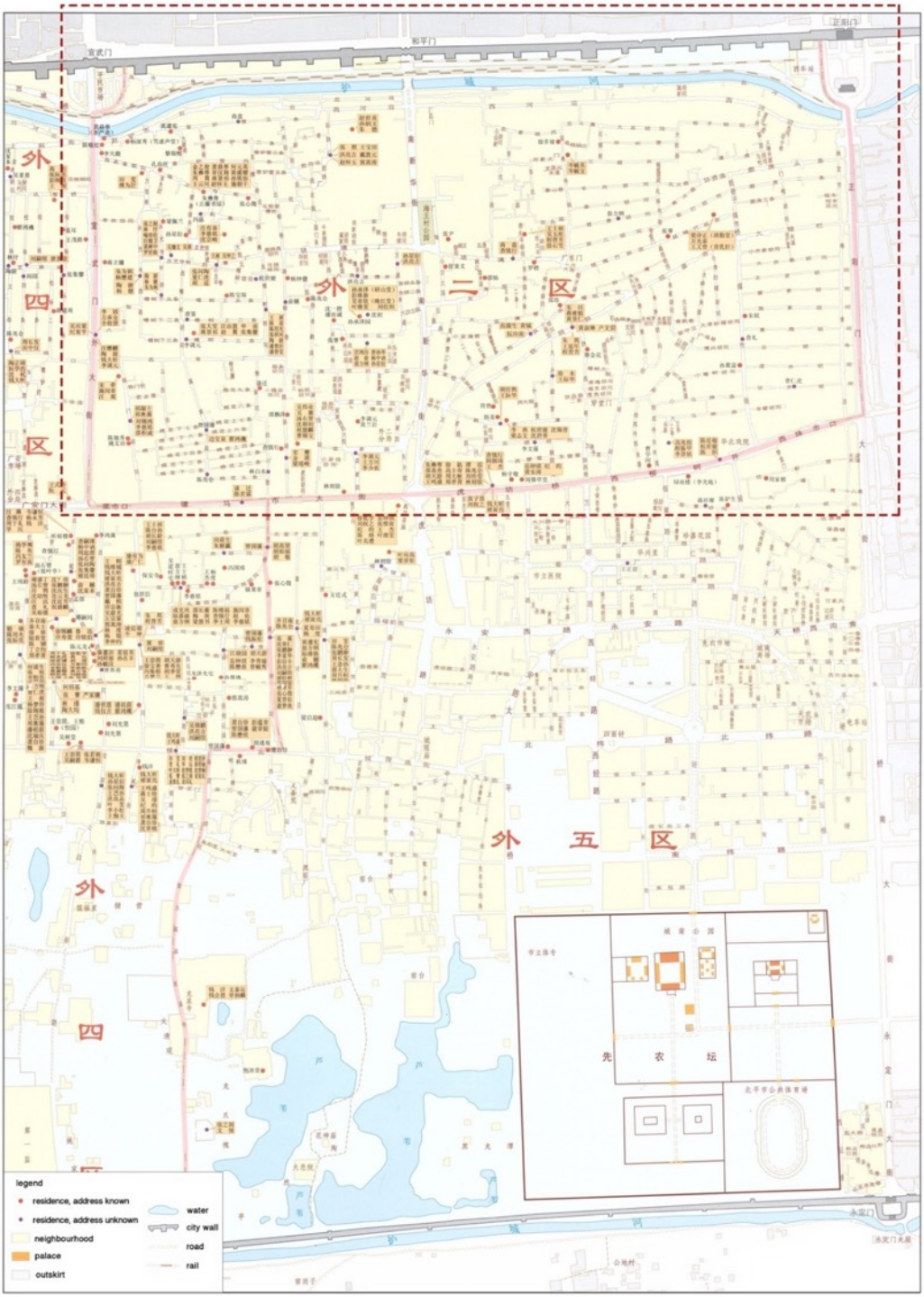


Plate 72 The former residences of celebrities, south of Xuanwu, Beijing
(a) Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 51–53. Note from the source: "This map shows the distribution of residences of celebrities in the Qing--Republican era in the Xuannan area, with a focus on those in the Qing era. Most celebrities in the Qing era did not own but rented their residences; they moved frequently across a few residences; in this case, we try to locate all these residences. Residences of celebrities in the theatre industry are excluded from this map and reserved for another map."

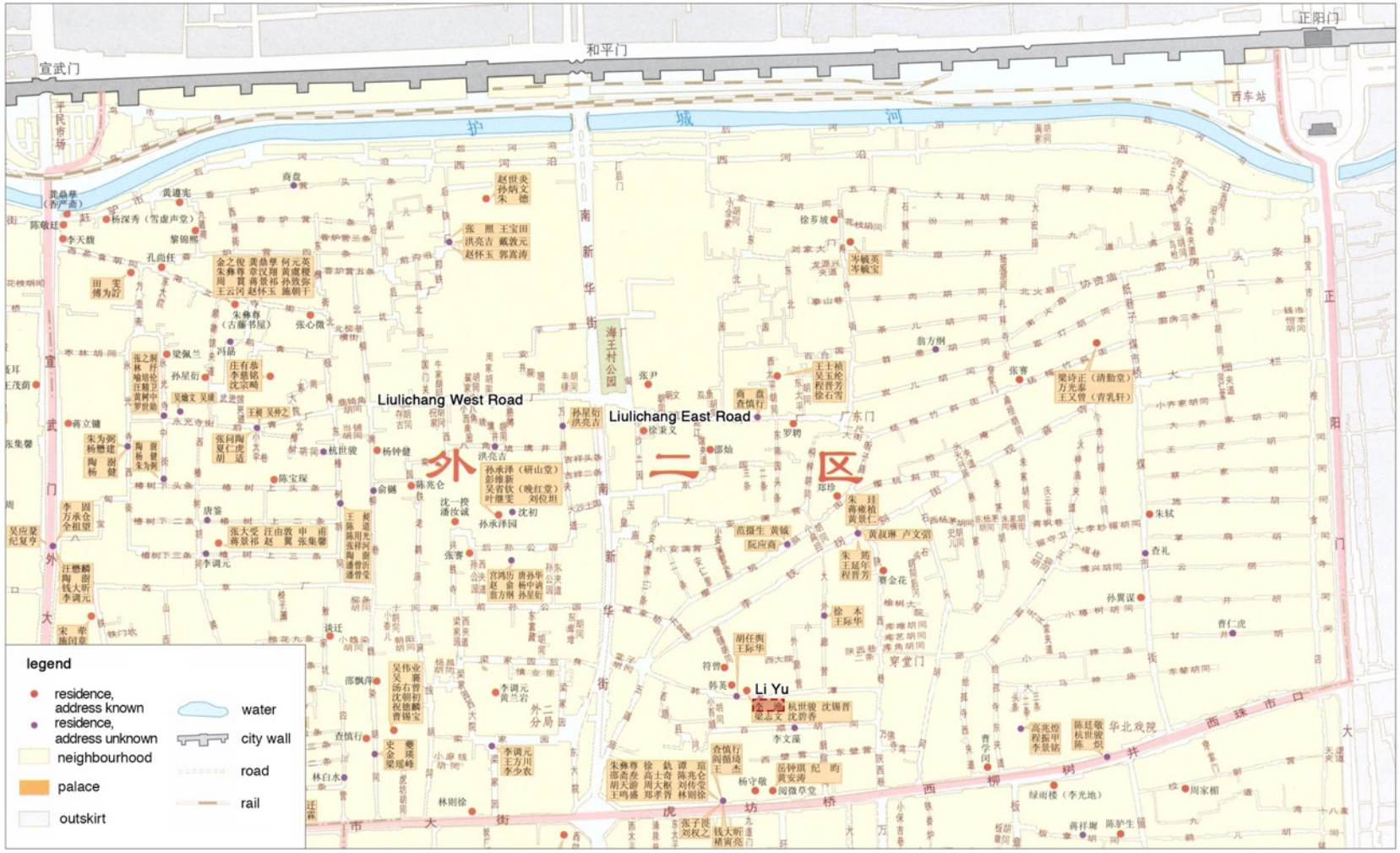


Plate 72 The former residences of celebrities, south of Xuanwu, Beijing

(b) In this map, Li Yu's former residence at *Hanjia tan* is marked as "accurate address known."

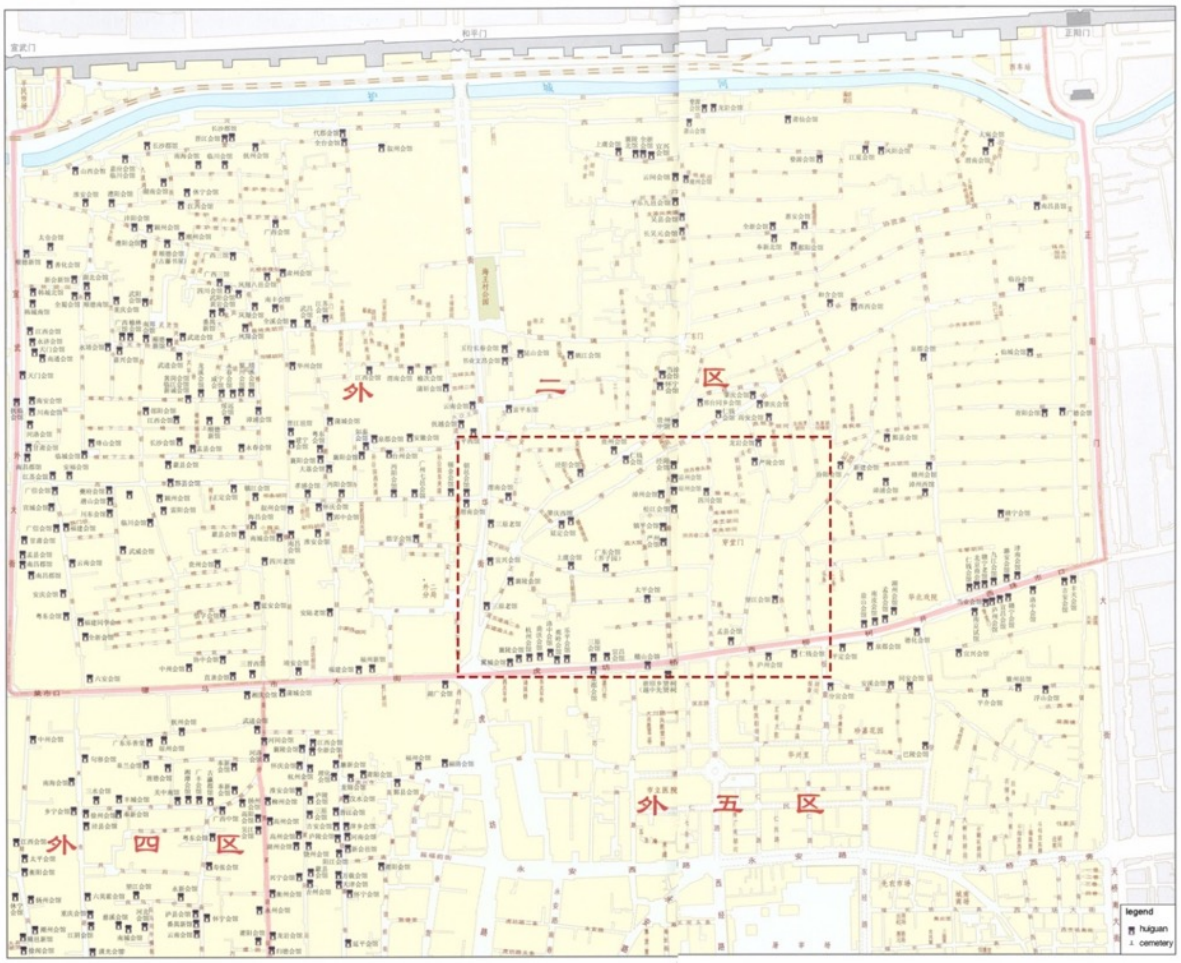


Plate 73 The native-place lodges of different provinces, south of Xuanwu, Beijing

(a) Hou Renzhi 侯仁之 and Yue Shengyang 岳升阳, eds., *Beijing Xuannan lishi ditu ji* 北京宣南历史地图集 (Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2008), 34–35.

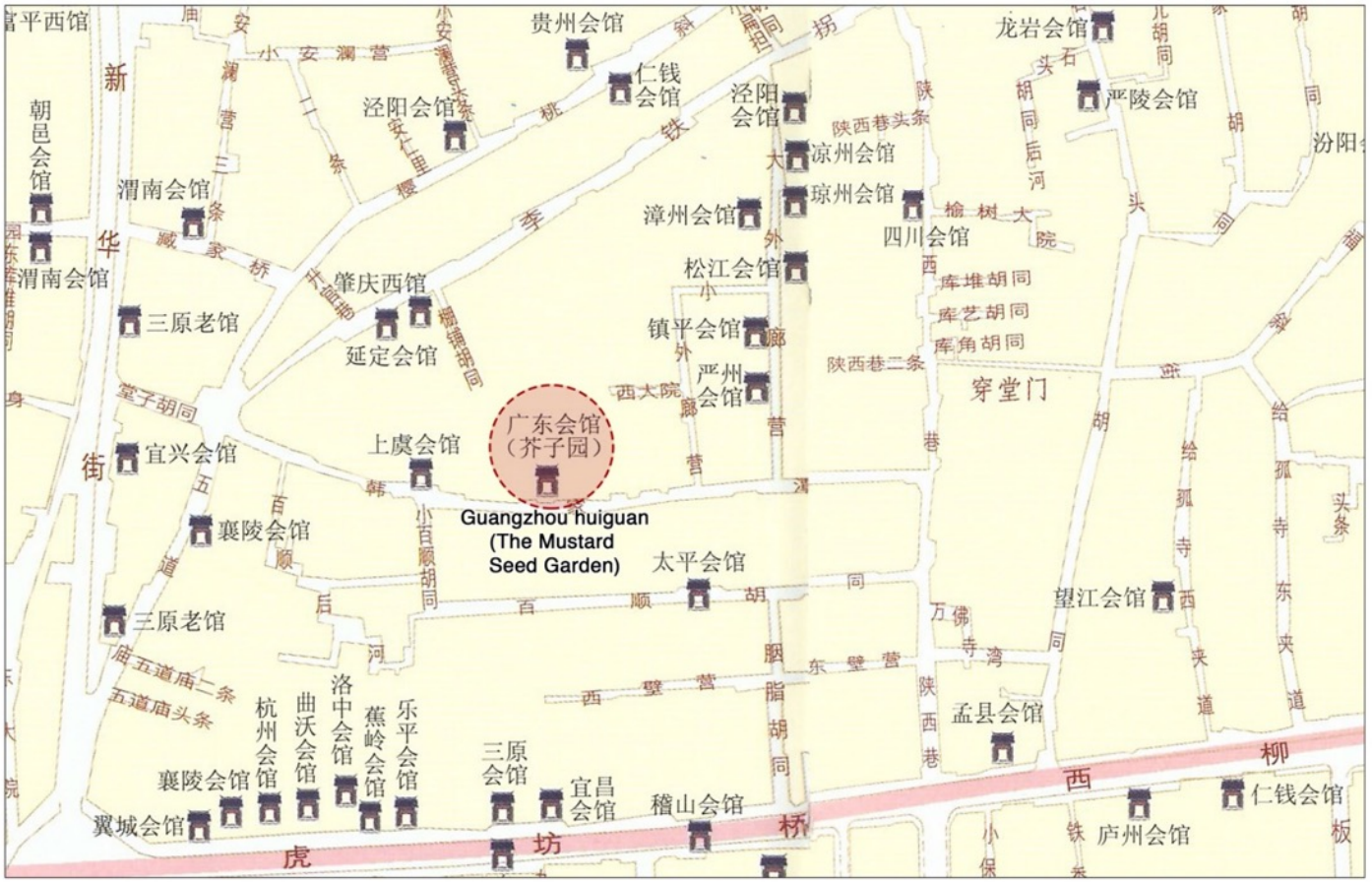


Plate 73 The native-place lodges of different provinces, south of Xuanwu, Beijing

(b) In this map, *Guangzhou huiguan* is also marked as “the Mustard Seed Garden,” standing among many other native-place lodges of different provinces.

Section Five

Dashilar as Co-extensive Urban Paradigms

Plate 74 The store of Tongren tang 同仁堂 at Wangfujing 王府井 replicates the form of lower entry
Photographs by Joachim Gentz, October 21, 2019.

Plate 75 Sequential and simultaneous, hierarchical and rhizomatic interwoven in a single form of comics

(a) Nick Sousanis, *Unflattening* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 62.

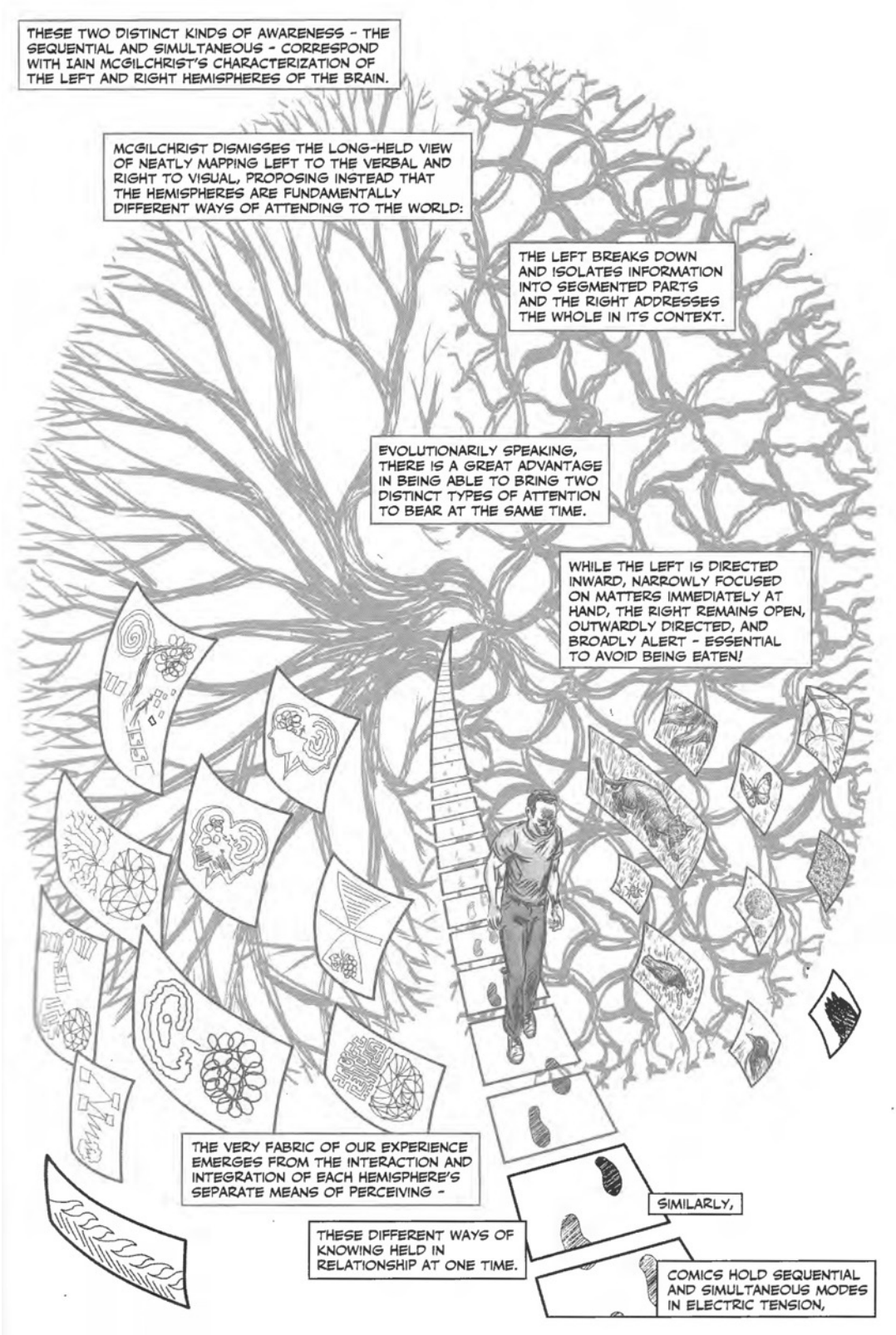


Plate 75 Sequential and simultaneous, hierarchical and rhizomatic interwoven in a single form

(b) Nick Sousanis, *Unflattening* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 63.

Plate 76 The blue-and-white teacups in contemporary Dashilar

(a) Photographs by the author, April 6, 2016. The blue-and-white teacups in the Sanqing Playhouse 三庆园, Dashilar Commercial Street.

Plate 76 The blue-and-white teacups in contemporary Dashilar

(b) Photographs by the author, April 6, 2016. The blue-and-white teacups in a small restaurant selling traditional local foods.

Plate 76 The blue-and-white teacups in contemporary Dashilar

(c) Photographs by the author, April 6, 2016. The blue-and-white teacups among many second-hand white porcelain items and other kinds of everyday accessories.

Plate 76 The blue-and-white teacups in contemporary Dashilar

(d) Photographs by the author, April 6, 2016. The blue-and-white teacups lined up outside an amenity specifically catering to foreign tourists as special souvenirs.

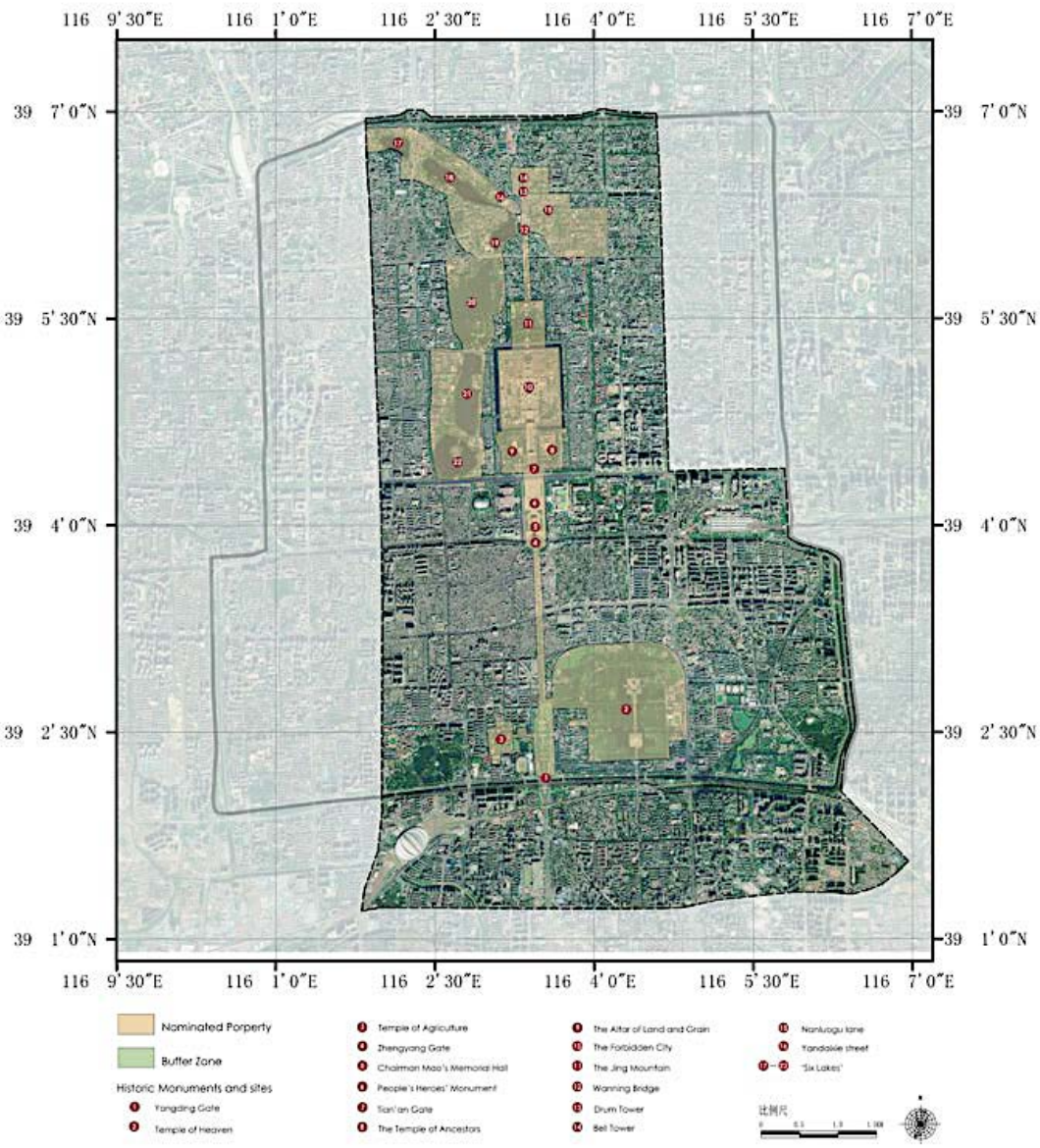


Plate 77 The proposed nominated property of Beijing's Central Axis and buffer zone

By National Heritage Center of Tsinghua University, in Lu Zhou and Sun Yan, "The Conservation of Beijing Central Axis: The Impact Evaluation of Contemporary Architecture From the Perspective of HUL," accessed June 21, 2017, http://unesco.urbanismosevilla.org/unesco/sites/default/files/06.SunYan-Presentacion.pdf

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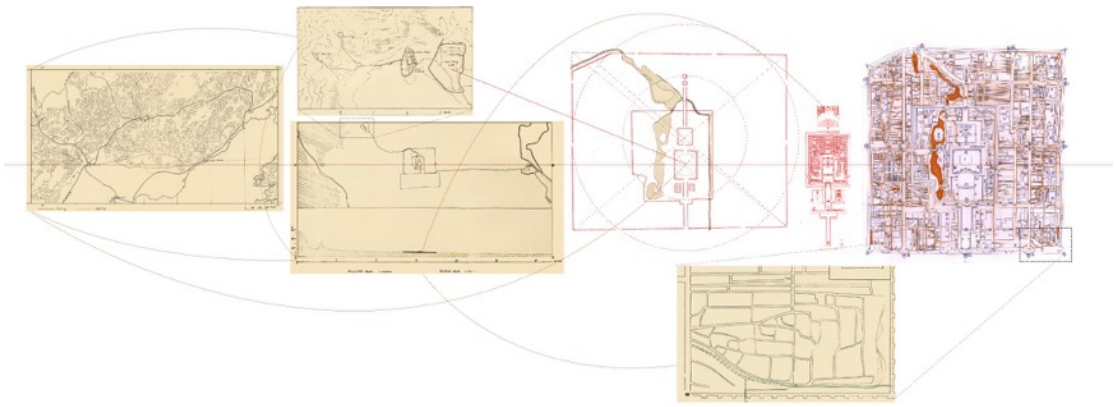
Appendix A

Non-Axial Representation of Beijing

Presentation in the “Postcards from the Anthropocene: Unsettling the Geopolitics of Representation” Conference, University of Edinburgh, June 22–24, 2017

Key Image



Abstract

On January 29, 2013, National Commission of the People's Republic of China formally made a submission to UNESCO, suggesting the Central Axis of Beijing should be considered for nomination[1]. In this document, the 7.8-kilometre long axis is described as the most significant section of the old city of Beijing and has dominated its order for hundreds of years. This description is much representative of a view that Beijing is the quintessence of the traditional Chinese capital-planning thoughts- stressing not merely physical but metaphysical axiality.

[1] UNESCO, “The Central Axis of Beijing (including Beihai),” accessed February 26, 2017, http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5802/.

Nonetheless, such an axial geopolitical diagram has been subtly undermined in an important monograph on the city – *An Historical Geography of Peiping*[2] – completed by Hou Renzhi in 1949. Mentored by Clifford Darby, Hou also reads the formality of Beijing as being "shaped and transformed by the natural and human forces in a long period of time."[3] In his research, an urban morphology is explored by tracing how the topographical features conditioned the origin of Beijing and its development, and simultaneously by mapping out how different cultural blocs responded or distorted the topographical in a state of flux. In this sense, the city is no longer a representation following a singular axiality.

Hou has drawn 54 maps illustrating the formality of Beijing as a result of constant negotiation between geo-logic and imperial-logic. His analysis has been accepted by many other scholars as a "scientific explanation"[4] more convincing than ever before. But it also means these scholars are more interested in justifying the "accuracy"[5] rather than the "insightfulness"[6] of this historical-geographical narrative. What might have shaded the "insightfulness" is the chronological axis that frames Hou's writing. By constraining the construction of "cross section"[7] within one epoch at a time, the maps only imply rather than articulate the multiple as they could be. If we shift focus from the

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[2] Renzhi Hou, *An Historical Geography of Peiping* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2014).

[3] In the preamble of *An Historical Geography of Peiping*, Hui Deng has briefly reviewed Clifford Darby's contribution to the foundation of the modern academic discipline of historical geography by referring to his paper "On the Relations of Geography and History" published by Institute of British Geographers in 1953. He argues that Hou has inherited Darby's thoughts and applied his method of "cross section." Hui Deng, Preamble to *An Historical Geography of Peiping*, by Renzhi Hou (Heidelberg: Springer, 2014), v–ix.

[4] Ibid., vii.

[5] "Having accurately captured this cultural geographic feature, the author summarizes the cultural features in this region during different periods of time, revealing the influence of cultural geographic factors on the development of Peiping." Ibid., vii. "These above opinions, from contemporary point of view, are still quite accurate and insightful." Ibid., viii.

[6] Ibid., vii-viii.

[7] "[T]he method of cross section [is] to recapture a certain region's geographical development process by reconstructing a series of cross section, in order to provide embryological explanations to the features of the modern geographical landscape." Ibid., vi.

scientific to the philosophic, a methodological impetus is to be explored by restructuring the atlas in a less axial way.

The river and lake system is drawn by Hou as a medium to look into the communication and conflict between geo-logic and imperial-logic. By tracing the shifts of watercourses, various networks begin to emerge- in which the role of the geo- and the political are transformable as either actor or actant. The image shown above is an ongoing drawing that tries to test an alternative narratology. The essence of this shift is to turn the chronological axis of watercourse into a section line. Then, movements between traces of the geo- and the political are liberated from any axis, but do not "resort to the indeterminate, the informal, the nonverbal."[8]

There is no absence of other frames outside us even in the epoch of Anthropocene. That is to say, we are neither truly under "new conditions"[9] nor becoming "groundless" [10] or "scaleless." [11] The point is what has been conditioning us is not a dominant linear or singular logic, but a multiple in a state of flux. In this sense, the word "situate"[12] seems not a "viable"[13] term any more. Rather than situating ourselves in a determinant, formal or verbal frame, we are crossing through various co-existent structures. While never entering the order of the identical, certain images become "crystal-clear."[14] The ongoing drawing is an imagined postcard. It records these images by structuring the frames- or "cross sections" in Darby or Hou's language- through which we

[8] Bernard Cache, *Earth Moves: The Furnishing of Territories*, ed. Michael Speaks, trans. Anne Boyman (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 16.

[9] Postcards from the Anthropocene, "Call for Paper," accessed December 10, 2016, http://www.postcardsfromtheanthropocene.com/.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Cache, *Earth Moves*, 16.

come to understand our space and time. Nonetheless, the city, if inscribed as a representation, is never fully captured by this described multiple.

Appendix B

Teacups Articulate the Everyday

The Qing court appeared to be well aware of the everyday approaches to the hydrological conditions of Beijing. Its understandings have been visualised in two sets of woodblock prints compiled respectively to record the birthday scenes of Emperor Kangxi in 1713 and that of Emperor Qianlong in 1790.

Both birthday records – *Wanshou shengdian chuji* 万寿盛典初集 (1717) and *Baxun Wanshou shengdian* 八旬万寿盛典 (1792) – depict the boisterous scenes along the streets from the Forbidden City to *Yuanming Yuan* 圆明园 (the Old Summer Palace, 1709–1860). In both compositions, the imperial lakes along with the moat and city gates clearly reference to the plan of Beijing (Figure B.1). While the streets were filled with officials and commoners, and lined with stages and painting corridors, the everyday life was going on without being interrupted by the celebrations. Among the many everyday details, how the urban life responded to the hydrological conditions is conspicuously revealed through the reiterative wooden buckets, teapots and teacups (Table B.1). It is not uncommon that tea cups are involved in court paintings, because serving tea used to be an essential part of the imperial rites (Figure B.2).[1] In these two works, however, the ubiquitous tea pots and tea cups suggest a pattern does not belong to the metaphysical aspirations. Informing little of the imperial ideology, they permeated many aspects of daily life, and therefore, could not be neglected by the court painters.

[1] Lin Chia-Wei 林家维, "Qianlong Ziguangge ciyan tu yanjiu" 乾隆紫光阁赐宴图研究，*Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊，no. 180 (2015): 67–96.

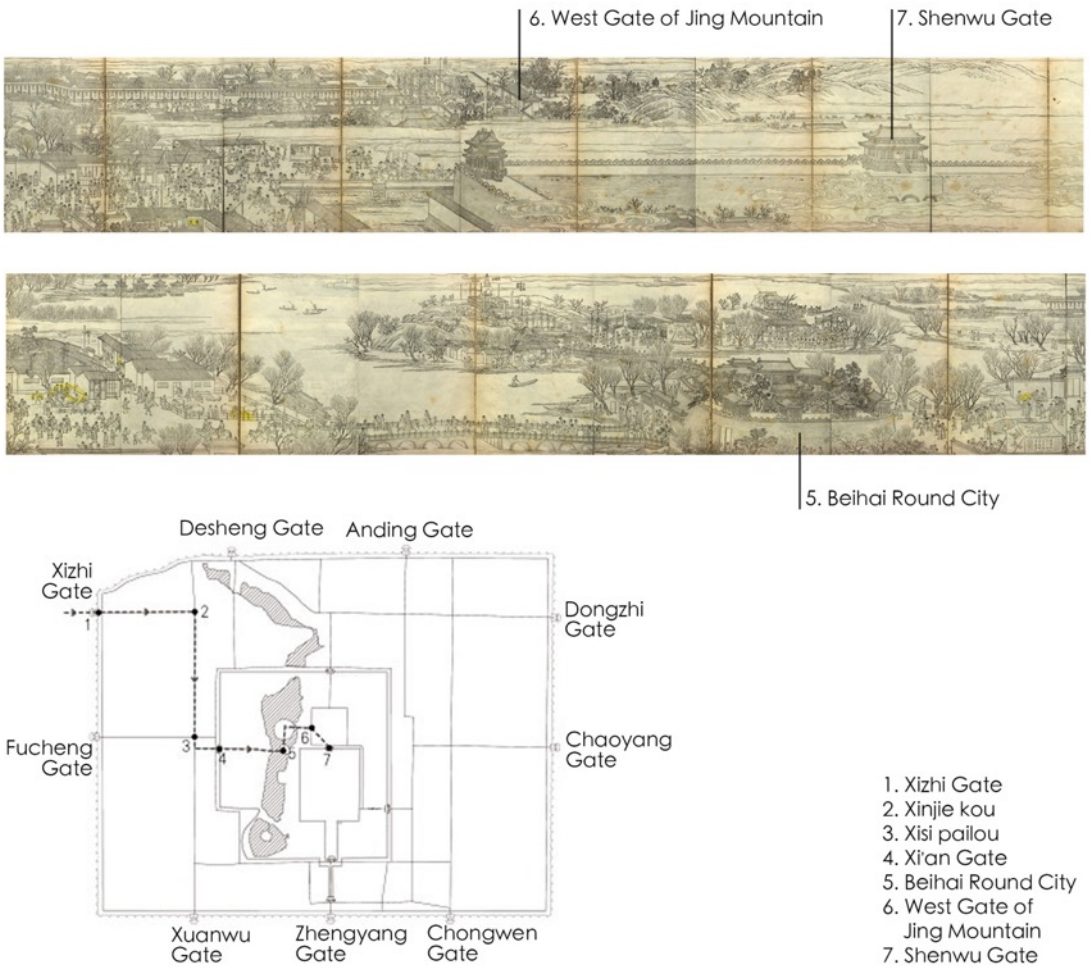

Figure B.1 *Wanshou shengdian chuji* 万寿盛典初集, vol. 41 (Inner City)[2]

[2] Wang, Yuanqi 王原祁 et al., eds. Wanshou shengdian chuji 万寿盛典初集 [Grand Ceremony Celebrating the Emperor's Birthday, Premier Compilation], vol. 41–42. 1717.

Table B.1 Everyday Responses to the Hydrological Conditions Portrayed by *Wanshou shengdian chuji* and *Baxun Wanshou shengdian*

	Content		Image	Location	
				Inner City	West Outskirts
Kangxi	water supply	river		___	vol. 42: p.2
		wells/ Water Houses		vol. 41: p.10, 32, 36, 48, 71, 72	vol. 42: p.8, 27, 34, 60, 63, 70
		water carriers/ carts	 	vol. 41: p.10, 11, 26, 36, 47, 48	vol. 42: p.11, 65
	water consumption	tea peddlers	 	vol. 41: p.6, 15, 27, 40, 49, 61, 63	vol. 42: p.9, 17, 21, 29, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 61, 62, 65, 68
		tea stalls		vol.41: p.61, 68	vol.42: p.7, 8, 12, 18, 37, 69
		teahouses		vol.41: p.59	vol.42: p.4, 24,
		private tea pots/cups		vol. 41: p.5, 10, 16, 34, 37, 39,	vol. 42: p.9, 54, 68

				42, 49, 56, 65	
		water the horses		vol. 41: p.10, 48, 49, 57	vol. 42: p.62
Qianlong	water supply	wells		———	vol. 78: p.114
		water carriers		vol. 77: p.7, 38	vol. 78: p.5, 20, 59
	water consumption	tea peddlers	 	vol. 77: p.32, 38, 86	vol. 78: p.1, 20, 35, 42, 57
		tea stalls		———	vol. 78: p.48, 59, 66,
		teahouses		———	vol.78: p.5, 9, 13, 15, 49, 50, 61, 82, 89, 90, 119, 120
		private tea pots/cups		vol. 77: p.31, 80, 81, 97, 109, 110, 114,	vol. 78: p.15, 16, 18, 21, 25, 40, 44, 49, 55, 86, 93, 107

Figure B.2 Ziguang Ge Ciyan tu 紫光阁赐宴图 [A Ritual Banquet at the Hall of Purple Light] (1761)

Yao Wenhan 姚文瀚, *Ziguang Ge Ciyan tu* 紫光阁赐宴图 [A Ritual Banquet at the Hall of Purple Light] (Beijing: Gugong bowuyuan 故宫博物院), accessed November 13, 2019, https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/228968.html.